Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

Volume Twenty-Six

Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3

Urkesh and the Hurrians
Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen

edited by
Giorgio Buccellati and
Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3

Urkesh and the Hurrians

Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

Primary sources and interpretive analyses for the study of Mesopotamian civilization and its influences from late prehistory to the end of the cuneiform tradition

Editor: Giorgio Buccellati

Published Under the Auspices of
IIMAS
The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies

Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
Volume 26

Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3

Urkesh and the Hurrians
Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen

edited by
Giorgio Buccellati and
Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

Undena Publications
Malibu 1998

The series *Urkesh/Mozan Studies* evolves directly from an earlier series that was simply entitled *Mozan*, which is now discontinued. Accordingly, the sequence of volumes should be understood as follows:

> *Mozan 1*: G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *The Soundings of the First Two Seasons*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamia 20. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1988.
>
> *Mozan 2*: L. Milano, M. Liverani, G. Buccellati, and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*. Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 5/1. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1991.
>
> *Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3*: G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Urkesh and the Hurrians: A Volume in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamia 26. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1998.

Color documentation for the material presented in this volume is available from Undena Publications in the form of 20 slides published as Set No. 2 in the series *Photographic Data Sets (PDS 2)*.

The entire contents of this volume plus the set of color slides are on a single Compact Disk, also available from Undena Publications as disk No. 3 in the series *Undena Electronic Editions (UEE 3)*.

Copyright © 1998 by Undena Publications

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

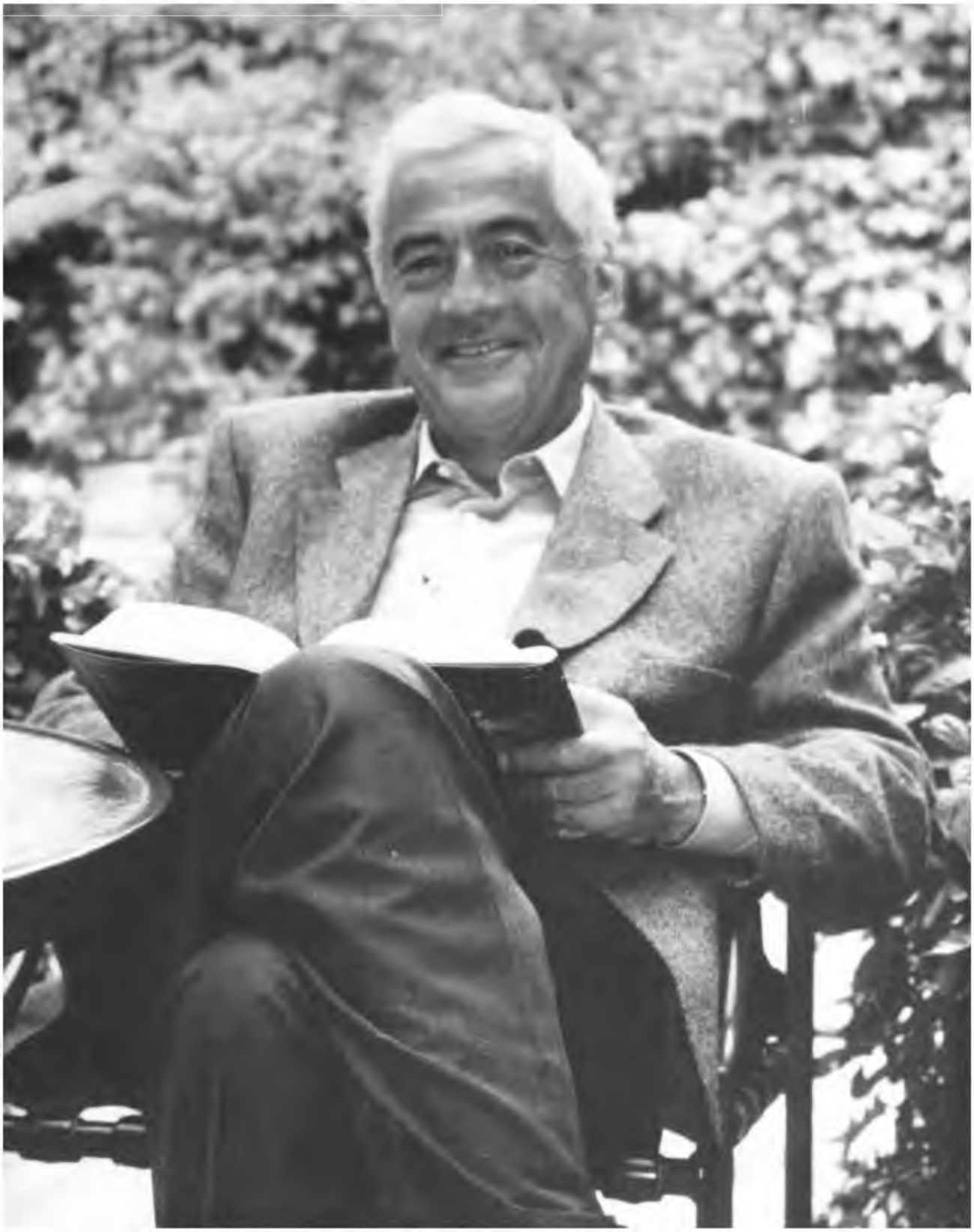
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 98-61172
ISBN 0-89003-501-4 (cloth) / 0-89003-502-2 (paper)

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

UNDENA PUBLICATIONS, P.O. BOX 97, MALIBU, CA 90265, USA

Copyright Information

Copies of the CD, or portions thereof, are allowed for personal use only, and with the proviso that a notification must be sent to endan@urkesh.org.



Preface

Giorgio Buccellati

The venture of editing a volume in honor of a friend is as gratifying to the editor as, one hopes, to the honoree. The convergence of personal and scholarly trajectories blend in such a way that any introduction becomes autobiographical as much as topical, for the avenues we have walked together are those of life as well as of a shared intellectual search. I may thus be allowed to encase the venture of my collegial friendship with Lloyd Cotsen within the frame of two events that for me mark, autobiographically and emblematically, this walk and this search we have happily shared since some very early beginnings.

In 1967, Marilyn and I had just returned, newlyweds and newly embarking on a joint professional life, from our first long trip to the Near East. The high point of that trip had been a month-long survey in the Syrian steppe, centering around Palmyra. We had joined skills and enthusiasms, looking for traces of semi-nomadic populations in the glare of the August sun. Back in Los Angeles, we met Lloyd. President of the local chapter of the American Institute of Archaeology, he invited us to give a lecture on our survey: "On the Footsteps of the Amorites in the Syrian Steppe." It was our first joint public lecture, and two curious memories still linger in our minds. First, a map of the territory surveyed, some four by four feet in size, which I had painted with oil colors (!), from which came the slide we used as a basis for the lecture. And, second, Lloyd's grin that combined disbelief, amusement, and yet approval for this fanciful approach to graphic documentation.

In the Winter of 1995, almost thirty years later, I returned to the Palmyrene, under the terms of a Guggenheim Fellowship, which had as its aim the exploration of that same steppe during the Winter season, looking at the changing features of the landscape and the lifeways of the modern shepherd populations that inhabit it. This time, Marilyn could

not join me: our son Federico came instead. And, with us, Lloyd came as well. I knew that his sensitivity for the archaeology, the history, the geography, would match my own interests very closely. And so it was. The grin of some 30 years earlier was with us yet, beaming across the landscape as it had upon the map. With Lloyd at our side, the word "interdisciplinary" acquired its fullest meaning: alive as I thought I was, already, to the interaction of settlements and landscape, of people and events, Lloyd could still elicit ever new challenges, new vistas.

It is this special capacity for insight that I would like to celebrate with our volume. I have learned much, over the years, from Lloyd, as I know many others have. Not just on the human level, but on the level of scholarly understanding. The confrontation with the data is always alive and fresh, whether in the steppe or in his library, whether probing in response or provoking in anticipation. If scholarship can be viewed as the conspiracy of shared discovery, Lloyd is indeed a great co-conspirator. And if scholarship, almost as much as Horace's poetry, can claim to produce those *monumenta aere perennia* that serve as signposts along the path of culture, then I hope that Lloyd will share in the conviction, and joy, that this volume will indeed remain a lasting monument honoring his love of culture.

* * *

The stepping stones along Lloyd's archaeological path have been identified by Ernestine Elster with the grace and insider's knowledge of a scholar-friend. The "conspiracy" of which I just spoke has, in this case, brought us to a fuller realization of the scope and depth of Lloyd's involvement in a field to which he has contributed so much in the first person.

The first part of this volume consists of four chapters by staff members of the Mozan/Urkesh project. With Lloyd, I visited Tell Mozan during our 1995 trip, but it was in the Winter: not only were the excavations backfilled, we could not even reach the site on the first day we were there, so deep was the water between the road and the site! When eventually we managed to cross the great waters on a tractor, we had a rare view of a very wet house and site, but could not quite do justice to Lloyd's archaeological dimension (though we did benefit from his architectural skills in identifying the causes of a nagging structural problem in the form of a perennially leaking roof!). The first part of this volume, then, will make up for the missed opportunity, so far, of having Lloyd with us during the excavations as he had participated in our earlier excavations in Terqa.

The fact that Marilyn, Federico, and I are adding our scholarly voice to that of friendship and affection should indeed not be considered accidental. The chapters by Marilyn and myself present an overview of the major finds to date, from a stratigraphic and a typological point of view. In addition, Marilyn's contribution inaugurates the search for the professional and human setting within which alone we can understand the growth of skill and craft—those workshops which, in the service of patrons and in response to specific concerns, developed expressive programs and stylistic schools.

Federico's chapter serves a triple purpose. First, he addresses theoretical concerns which have guided our choices for technological support over the years: only a methodological perspective can do justice to even the most advanced technique, and we must not let state-of-the-art mystique lead us myopically into cultural wastelands. This has been my contention and my effort, and I know Lloyd will share with a special joy the gratification of seeing these goals so well internalized, and expanded, by the next generation. The second contribution is, on the other hand, the deft control of the technique as such: the production of three-dimensional renderings of the Urkesh architecture, in a way that makes it possible for us to monitor the progress of the excavation as it unfolds in the field. Finally, there is an exposition of reasons why computer animation serves more than the incidental needs of providing adequate visuals for a film, and can instead be part of the archaeologist's overriding intellectual task.

Rick Hauser gives here for the first time a detailed account of an innovative approach he has pioneered in the study of animal figurines, of which we have a vast corpus preserved in the Royal Building AK. He has in preparation a comprehensive publication of the entire corpus, of which he uses a section here, that of the equids, both to illustrate the nature of his documentation and to provide, in the process, a figurative counterpart to Ivanov's chapter. The identification of clear distributional patterns in the proportions of body types, and the potential correlation to known animal morphologies (developed in part under the stimulus of Sandor Bökönyi), sets the whole question of identification on the basis of a clearly articulated formal analysis. The implications for function and use are many: the coherence of formal choices, the skill in manufacturing, the spatial distribution within a Royal Building of great significance (whether a palace or not), all of this will add immeasurably, and objectively, to our understanding of a ubiquitous cultural inventory.

* * *

The second part of the volume presents five interpretive studies by colleagues who have graciously lent, since the early stages of the identification of Mozan as Urkesh, their great insight and knowledge towards gaining a better sense of perspective with regard to the whole issue of locating our finds within the purview of Hurrian studies. In particular, Salvini, Steinkeller, and Wilhelm provided a detailed response to an in-house paper in which Marilyn and I first proposed the identification: their corroboration of our argument and their corrections to points of detail lent the encouragement we needed at a moment when everything seemed unexpected and new. Two of our authors, Steinkeller and Hoffner, first presented their views as part of a course offered by UCLA Extension in December 1995—and I wish to express here my gratitude to them for their readiness to participate first in the course and then to keep the text "on hold" while waiting for publication of this volume. Also, my thanks go to Dr. Elizabeth Brooks for organizing a course which, like others within Extension, succeed so well in bridging the gap between scholarship and public fruition.

Piotr Steinkeller sets the basis for an understanding of the historical framework in Upper Mesopotamia in the late third millennium, the period to which we can assign most of the finds that are connected with ancient Urkesh. His thorough control of the Mesopotamian data is matched by his keen sensitivity for both the historical and the archaeological dimensions: as a result, the picture he paints is rich in both information and interpretation, and points to the horizon which bounds our Urkesh perspective. As we commit ourselves to continued excavation within the boundaries of the site, we need to maintain our sights trained on that horizon in order to make sense of what new evidence is coming to light. It is also of special consequence for us, working at Mozan, that some of Piotr's students have been regular participants at our excavations, and that through his initiative the Semitic Museum of Harvard University was the first American Museum to dedicate a case to the Urkesh finds, as part of an exhibit honoring Harvard's long-standing involvement with Hurrian civilization through its excavations at Nuzi. (An earlier exhibit including material from Tell Mozan/Urkesh was featured in the Der ez-Zor Museum at its first opening in April 1996.)

Mirjo Salvini looks at third millennium Urkesh specifically from the point of view of Hurrian history. His long-standing involvement with the epigraphy, the history, and the geography of the area makes him the best spokesman for this perspective, which he presents here with a great richness of detail. His many travels to the Near East have allowed us to meet often in the field, ever since our early days at Terqa, and it is fitting that we may now also share a home, as it were, in a publication dedicated to a field and

a period to which he has devoted so much of his energies. It is in fact not accidental that the corpus of Hurrian texts, which he, Gernot Wilhelm, and others are editing, bears as an emblem the lion of Tish-Atal from Urkesh.

Gernot Wilhelm's chapter provides a critical edition of the most archaic Hurrian text, the inscription of Tish-Atal of Urkesh. Such an in-depth presentation of the philological and linguistic dimensions of the text is supported by the publication of a new photograph of the stone tablet in the Louvre, which we owe to the courtesy of its Curator, Dr. Béatrice André-Salvini (who had earlier done us the honor of an invitation to the Louvre for a presentation of our findings). As a result, this will serve as the new *editio princeps* of what, in retrospect, may now be considered as the first epigraphic document originating from Tell Mozan. It is also especially significant that, at Gernot's initiative and under his supervision as president of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, we will benefit from a new German presence at our excavations. As a result, Peter Pfälzner, of the University of Tübingen, will join us with some associates during the 1998 season.

Vyacheslav Ivanov adds a special dimension to our volume, that of a linguistic analysis which is as much in the forefront of general linguistic theory as it is sensitive to the evidence of material culture. As described briefly in Ernestine Elster's chapter, Lloyd had joined Ernestine, Marilyn, and myself in planning a project of excavations in what was then Soviet Georgia. Vyacheslav was not then directly involved, but his role in defining, with Thomas Gamkrelidze, the scope of historical and linguistic developments in Anatolia and the Caucasus contributed to our interest in extending our work that far north. Upon his joining the faculty at UCLA, our contacts became more frequent and his interest in our project ever more insightful. No one familiar with his prodigious scholarly output ought to be surprised to learn how carefully he was reading our reports, and yet it was unexpected to hear him talk with such enthusiasm about some evidence we had published for the presence of horses at our site. From this developed the idea of a chapter that would discuss the linguistic evidence, and the consequent historical implications, deriving from the words for horse in Hurrian and Indo-European.

Harry Hoffner presents a sweeping picture of the impact that Hurrian had on later Hittite culture, in all its aspects. On the one hand, he highlights influence, and on the other, survival. Each aspect is indicative of the vitality of earlier Hurrian traditions, and, at the same time, of their originality. For many of the traits that are either echoed (and transformed) or reproduced (more or less in their original status) are quite distinctive from those common to Southern Mesopotamia. (This is being progressively documented for the visual arts by Marilyn's work, as partly reported in her own article in this

volume.) The role of Urkesh is particularly significant. It is not a common occurrence to have a concrete, historical city mentioned as a divine residence, and in the case of Urkesh the association is with the father of the gods, Kumarbi, who from this residence exercises a special judicial role over the inhabited world. This, in conjunction with the knowledge of Urkesh as a political capital and, now, as a concrete settlement, shows that the myth had strong roots in the ground and in history.

Clearly, it is emblematic of this volume that it shows the wide-ranging collaboration our work at Tell Mozan/Urkesh has elicited with regard to the field of Hurrian studies. What the future may hold in store with particular regard to Hurrian epigraphy from Urkesh is of course unpredictable. To the extent that we can make projections on the basis of current findings, I opt, frankly, for a certain dose of pessimism. On the one hand, Hurrian seems to have been used primarily for political inscriptions, such as the one on the lions of Tish-Atal, and if so they would have been limited in number. On the other hand, we have found, so far, few traces of widespread destruction at the site, of the type that would favor the preservation of cuneiform archives. But should this foreboding prove wrong, should we, in other words, be fortunate enough to find Hurrian texts in our excavations, we would certainly be poised to extend an efficient and established pattern of scholarly, international collaboration to the study of such a corpus.

* * *

One of Lloyd's abiding interests in archaeology has been for the needs and problems of publishing. With a change of roles, as it were, his children have graciously adopted the publication of this *Cotsen Volume*, by helping to defray the costs of printing. In this way, too, Corinna, Tobey, and Eric have come to share in their father's interests and in his scholar-friends' tribute.

CONTENTS

Giorgio Buccellati
Preface 1

1. Ernestine S. Elster
Lloyd Cotsen: A Brief Archaeological Biography 7

2. Giorgio Buccellati
Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City 11

3. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati
The Workshops of Urkesh 35

4. Federico Buccellati
3-D Rendering and Animation at Tell Mozan/Urkesh 51

5. Rick Hauser
The Equids of Urkesh: What the Figurines Say 63

6. Piotr Steinkeller
The Historical Background of Urkesh and the Hurrian Beginnings in Northern Mesopotamia 75

7. Mirjo Salvini
The Earliest Evidence of the Hurrians Before the Formation of the Reign of Mittanni 99

8. Gernot Wilhelm
Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš 117

9. Vyacheslav Vs. Ivanov
Horse Symbols and the Name of the Horse in Hurrian 145

10. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.
Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective 167

FIGURES

Giorgio Buccellati, *Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City*

Fig. 1. Sites in the Khabur Region 14
Fig. 2. The High Mound (excavations as of 1997) 15
Fig. 3a. Tell Mozan: the Outer City (west) 16
Fig. 3b. Tell Mozan: the Outer City (east) 17
Fig. 4. Excavations areas in Royal Building AK 22
Fig. 5. Royal Building AK excavations as of 1997, with room labels 23
Fig. 6. 3-D rendering of Royal Building AK (maximal projection) 26

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, *The Workshops of Urkesh*

Fig. 1. Inscribed seals of the king (k), the queen (q), and the royal houshold (h) 43

Federico Buccellati, *3-D Rendering and Animation at Tell Mozan/Urkesh*

Fig. 1. A system of renderings organized to convey the concept of a 3-D model 60-61

Rick Hauser, *The Equids of Urkesh: What the Figurines Say*

Fig. 1. Equus, Types I-III 69

Piotr Steinkeller, *The Historical Background of Urkesh and the Hurrian Beginnings in Northern Mesopotamia*

Fig. 1. Political map of Mesopotamia: 2400 B.C. 86
Fig. 2. Political map of Mesopotamia: 1790 B.C. 86
Fig. 3. Political map of Mesopotamia: 2200 B.C. 87

Mirjo Salvini, *The Earliest Evidence of the Hurrians Before the Formation of the Reign of Mittanni*

Fig. 1. The Hurrian centers of the third and second millennium B.C. in Upper Mesopotamia 101

PLATES

I-VI. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, *The Workshops of Urkesh*

Ill. 1. Stone lion from temple B (B1.164) I
Ill. 2. Detail of seal impression (k2) showing lion at foot of throne and vessel placed in front (A1.455) I
Ills. 3-4. Clay head of bearded man (A1.23). Ill. 3. Side A: front and left. Ill. 4. Side B: right II

Ill. 5. Bearded man: frontal view III
Ill. 6. Painted clay head from C1.1 III
Ill. 7. Round-topped double-sided stele (B1.19). Side A: Animal herd in motion.
Side B: Plowman IV
Ill. 8. Seal impression of Innin Shadu, h4 (A1.98) V
Ill. 9. Impression of q6 (A5.76) V
Ill. 10. Detail of queen and her daughter in q4 (A5q928.7) V
Ill. 11. Human-headed bull under the inscription of h1 or h2 (A5.61) V
Ill. 12. Detail of body of bull and attendant in h1 (A5.186) V
Ill. 13. Detail of singer and lyre in q4 (A5.50) VI
Ill. 14. Detail of assistant cook in h3 (A1q962.6) VI
Ill. 15. Detail of boar under the inscription in q3 (A1.390) VI
Ill. 16. Detail of banquet scene (A5.91) VI
Ill. 17. Detail of attendant holding a ball of thread in k1 (A5.163) VI

VII-XII. Rick Hauser, *The Equids of Urkesh: What the Figurines Say*

Ill. 1. Equus, Type I (A6.238) VII
Ill. 2. Equus, Type II (A5.30) VIII
Ill. 3. Equus, Type III (A5q815-f) IX
Ill. 4. Equus, Type III (K3.16) X
Ill. 5. Equus (BH383.2) XI
Ill. 6. Equus (A1q960.8) XI
Ill. 7. Equus (A5q63-f) XII
Ill. 8. Equus (A1q836-f) XII

XIII-XV. Gernot Wilheim, *Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš*

Ill. 1. Lion (AO 19937) with stone tablet (AO 19938) XIII
Ill. 2a. Stone tablet of Tish-atal (AO 19938) (obverse) XIV
Ill. 2b. Stone tablet of Tish-atal (reverse) XV

Excavations at Tell Mozan/Urkesh
and publication of its reports
during the period covered in the present volume
have been made possible through grants from

The National Endowment for the Humanities
Ambassador International Cultural Foundation
The National Geographic Society
The Catholic Biblical Association
Ahmanson Foundation
The Samuel H. Kress Foundation
The L. J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation
The Cotsen Family Foundation
The Oriental Institute of the Pacific
Syria Shell Petroleum Development B.V.
and various donors

1

Lloyd Cotsen, a Brief Archaeological Biography

Ernestine S. Elster

University of California, Los Angeles

Hanging on the wall of the small museum at the prehistoric site of Lerna in the Peloponnese are a series of drawings of architectural features from the site signed by the architectural draftsman, Lloyd E. Cotsen and dated beginning in 1954. Examining these professional renderings on a visit to Lerna back in 1965, my husband, Sandy, and I had the first inkling of the depth of Lloyd Cotsen's involvement in archaeology. He and his wife JoAnne (now deceased) were friends of long standing but we weren't close then. We took for granted that he was an important part of the Neutrogena Corporation with an *interest* in archaeology. Our understanding was only half correct; he *was* integral to Neutrogena and ultimately responsible for the enormous marketing success of its products. But concomitantly, since the date of the drawings, he had been in the archaeological trenches every summer alongside his academic colleagues. And it was only when the digging concluded at one of his favorite sites in Greece, that he cut back on this annual active involvement. It wasn't simply an *interest* in archaeology, but a passionate participation.

Lerna was an eye-opener in more ways than one. First of all, the site was the stuff of which legends are made: a prehistoric site, one of a handful on the Greek mainland when it was first excavated, with remarkably preserved architecture and material remains representing a long sequence from Neolithic through Bronze Age. Further, this excavation was under the direction of a highly respected archaeologist, Jack Caskey of Cincinnati, who himself had worked with the legendary C.W. Blegen. If Lloyd's work for Jack was hung on the walls, he was judged a professional by his peers!

But this brief archaeological biography will reach back even further than the beginning of our friendship, to the midpoint of this century, when Lloyd graduated from Princeton in 1950. He then served as a Naval Officer in the Pacific during the Korean War, and in 1953 after his discharge, he and JoAnne Stolaroff of Los Angeles were married. By 1954 he entered Princeton's Graduate School of Architecture, and that summer he and JoAnne traveled to Greece. His title was Field Architect at Lerna. And thus began summer after summer of dirty hands, sweaty bodies, and a lifelong passion for and with archaeology.

Jack Caskey couldn't have imagined much about the graduate student from the School of Architecture (the *second* choice, Lloyd insists), who accepted the summer job as field architect. But, as Jack would learn, this handsome, disarming, charming, and energetic young fellow developed into a lifelong archaeologist whose connection to the discipline grew deeper year by year. Along the way, Lloyd became a father,[1] a captain of industry and a philanthropist of enormous vision and creativity.[2]

But, not quite so fast, because during the 1954 field season, Caskey obviously realized Lloyd's potential as an archaeologist. He offered Lloyd the opportunity of graduate study as a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. In the space of the next few years, Lloyd and JoAnne lived and breathed archaeology in Athens and business and marketing in Cambridge at Harvard's Graduate School of Business Administration. But I think the ASCS and the summers in the field were a transformative experience for Lloyd. They provided him with an understanding of how archaeology worked, in the field, lab, and classroom, and in a foreign land. He

[1] Proud father of Corinna, Tobey, Eric and Noah (now deceased), and grandfather of Chiara, Emmett, Bennett, Aidan, and Cameron.

[2] An abbreviated list of achievements runs something like this: two honorary Ph.D. awards (Cincinnati 1994 and Pepperdine 1993); noted collector of folk art for himself and Neutrogena and then donated to New Mexico Folk Art Museum in Santa Fe to be housed in a new wing of the Museum specifically built for this extraordinary collection; Chairman of the Los Angeles Music Center Managing Committee; Board of the Los Angeles Craft and Folk Art Museum, Skirball Museum; Charter Trustee of Princeton University; probably the nation's leading collector of children's books, now housed in newly-built Cotsen Children's Library, a part of the Firestone Library at Princeton; provided support for and helped design a program of Story Telling for Children at rural libraries in a remote river valley in Colorado; commissioned a biography of Newberry, the publisher of children's books, whose name graces the medal for outstanding children's publications; commissioned a study of bamboo and its various uses including for the creation of basketry art, illustrated from his fine collection of Japanese baskets; etc.

developed a network of friends and colleagues and an ongoing link with the ASCS and archaeologists in Greece which is undiminished through time.

Lloyd graduated from Harvard in 1957 and at that juncture his father-in-law invited him to join his company (the forerunner of Neutrogena), with time out every summer for excavation in Greece. Lloyd was the head of a young and growing family; he accepted. As for Neutrogena, we will leave that for another biography.

While a fellow of the American School and during the many field seasons in Greece, he mastered quite a bit of Greek. As the story goes, Lloyd would arrive on site, size up the situation, and immediately set about pouring oil on any troubled waters, relying on his own inimitable brand of enthusiasm and excitement. He was in the field, his architect's tools unpacked, his beard growing by the day, his body sunburned, and his soul transformed from merchandising genius to working scholar.

I think it is very appropriate for this volume of contributions from working Hurrian scholars to be dedicated to Lloyd E. Cotsen for work rendered over these many years. He has applied his skill, creativity, and vision to many archaeological worlds, in addition to field work at Lerna, Kea, and Pylos. Mozan and Urkesh received working visits from Lloyd as did Marija Gimbutas' site in Italy at Scaloria Cave. And in 1991 Lloyd and I planned, with Giorgio and Marilyn's collaboration, a joint excavation of a *kurgan* with Dr. Alexander Djavakishvili and the Archaeological Museum in Tbilisi, Georgia. By spring of 1992 I learned that our funding from the National Research Center was approved in Washington, D.C., but in the end, it was not to be; Georgia was wracked with political unrest and we did not accept the grant.

Observing from within the strengths and pitfalls of archaeological projects, he developed a keen awareness for that characteristic problem of field archaeology—the publication of excavation reports. And he set out to provide means to solve the problem. We at the Institute of Archaeology at UCLA have benefited from this interest in publications, special annual lectures, student support, and excavations. The JoAnne Stolaroff Cotsen Prize Imprint, named in honor of his late wife, is awarded to an outstanding Institute of Archaeology publication. The award provides support for printing, an honorarium to the author who is invited to UCLA to present a public lecture, and a seminar. The Marija Gimbutas Memorial Lecture provides funding and an honorarium to a special guest archaeologist for a lecture on Indo-European and/or Bronze Age archaeology; the Cotsen Family Foundation has provided grants for manuscript preparation of excavation reports. Lloyd has served on the Advisory

Board of the Institute of Archaeology since the inception of this Board, and contributed generously to the first and most recent Capital Campaign. In recognition of his generosity, vision, and participation, the Institute honored him with its "Silver Trowel Award," its highest honor.

The American Institute of Archaeology, for which he has been active over the years as Trustee and former President of the Southern California Society, also honored him a few years back. He has served as Chairman of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens since 1993, but his actual work for the School has gone on for years and can be characterized as thorough and fair-minded. He has offered rare diplomacy in sorting out the vexacious problems of aging excavation reports and provided financial support for a number of scholars at various institutions, thus helping to bring these languishing works to scholarly hands. He has provided scholarships, usually without fanfare, for talented students here and abroad. As a member of the Ahmanson Board of Trustees (an important philanthropic agency in Los Angeles), he has encouraged applications of an archaeological nature while at the same time challenging unrealistic goals.

As I reach the end of this biographical sketch, it becomes clear how much Lloyd Cotsen has avoided honor and outward recognition, concentrating instead on continuous substantive involvement. Thus it is that his "works" honor him as the man and the archaeologist; his friends and colleagues know of his dirty hands and sweaty brow, and you and I, as working scholars, honor him with pride, for work rendered.

2

Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City

Giorgio Buccellati
University of California, Los Angeles

The effort that goes into understanding an ancient urban layout is daunting, no less so at Tell Mozan than at other sites. The relatively amorphous topographic contours all but hide the articulation of the ancient settlement, especially for its earlier periods. We are, nevertheless, beginning to find certain clues which permit us at least to formulate some working hypotheses. These I will present here. The virtue of this exercise is to bring together, on the one hand, the observations from our work on different parts of the Tell; and to suggest, on the other, avenues through which we may simultaneously test and broaden these observations in the years ahead of us. No attempt has been made here to provide the pertinent documentation, and illustrations are given only for the Royal Building AK, which is the one most recently excavated.

As is generally the case when ancient settlements are identified with modern sites, while we may say that Urkesh is Tell Mozan, the converse is not true: Tell Mozan is not just Urkesh, but rather more than Urkesh. It includes, in fact, certain modern components to which the ancient name clearly does not apply. It is true, however, that this need for terminological precision is almost negligible in our case. The non-Urkesh material on Tell Mozan is extremely limited,[1] since it appears that the ancient site retained its name until at least the middle of the second millennium B.C., and most

[1] It is also clearly recognizable, at least typologically. Stratigraphically, the top layers merge at times with earlier ones in ways that are difficult to distinguish: this is due to the fact that the later occupation is sparse and scattered, without any appreciable and coherent intrusions in the earlier strata.

probably until its abandonment in the Nuzi period, i.e., until the end of its ancient period of occupation.

1 Early Third Millennium

Several soundings have reached virgin soil, of which the most significant are one on the High Mound (S2, Fig. 2) and the other in the Outer City (OS12, Fig. 3). S2 was a well dug by hand to virgin soil (then continued with a mechanical auger). In stratum S2sA13, just above virgin soil, some Halaf sherds were found, and in the stratum immediately above (S2sA12) three small cups were found set on a floor surface: the three cups may be classified typologically as Ninevite V, and the stratum was dated, by C14 analysis of carbon remains found in it, to 2920 +/- 170 B.C. (UCI-145; see RLA 8, 1995, p. 389)

The sounding in the Outer City (OS12) was started as a hole dug during our absence by the utilities company for the westernmost pilon of the power line which runs along the northern perimeter of the site; we then regularized and expanded the excavation before cement was poured into it. This sounding holds special interest because (a) it seems to have reached the deepest absolute elevation yet on the tell, and (b) it seems to indicate two major stratigraphic phases in the Outer City. An ash layer (f3 in k2), dark black midden (f12 in k1), and the large cooking jar with four lug handles (i7 in k4) are all at the lowest depth (between 2 and 3 m below the surface), and would seem to indicate an early phase of simple (?) domestic occupation. Even though no clear floors and no architecture were uncovered, it seems certain that we have here no evidence of burials or burial-related activities. We cannot date it positively, since the cooking pot is in itself non-distinctive, and the pottery from the higher burials is not diagnostic. The depth of this deposit below the modern plain level would document the elevation for the original plain level, since the domestic activities documented in OS12 could not likely have taken place in a sunken environment.

The construction of the inner city wall, around the High Mound, is documented especially in KW and in S1. In neither area did we reach the base of the wall, so we cannot suggest a stratigraphic date for its construction. Inferentially, however, we may assume this date to have been in the early third millennium, since it appears to have been rendered inoperable by the middle of the same millennium (see below, 2.1).

A few burials in the Outer City may be dated, typologically, to the early part of the third millennium, in particular those in soundings OA4 and OB1. The latter had more

than 100 well preserved ceramic vessels and several bronze objects. The ceramics include, next to Metallic Ware, conical cups and a number of late Ninevite V vessels, and also some stands painted with geometric patterns in the Scarlet Ware tradition (*Hamidiya* p. 130).

2 Mid Third Millennium

2.1 The city walls

We assume that, by the middle of the third millennium, the inner city wall was no longer used for its defensive purposes. This is based primarily on the results of our excavations in area KW (*Mozan 1*, pp. 61-64). Here we observed that the moat in front of the wall itself was backfilled in such a way as to render it inoperative: without a moat, the wall would obviously lose much of its effectiveness. The date is proposed on the basis of the nature of the deposition and the typology of the material found. The surface of the moat and the glacis which leads up to the wall was covered by a compact and coherent fill, which included a large quantity of burnt brick and was clearly dumped at once, not as the result of gradual accumulation. The preponderance of items found in this fill were door sealings, fragments of small spouted jars, and fragments of large storage vats and jars. They were contained in a red matrix resulting from burning. Our understanding of the depositional processes is that the material for the fill was brought from a single building which had burned down, and was dumped so as to level this portion of the moat.

Two inferences follow. (1) If the fill was so coherent with respect to the nature of its components, it seems hard to imagine that it could have survived for long in some other location before being dumped in KW. In other words, the burning of the building is likely to precede by very little the dumping of the debris. Accordingly, the obliteration of the moat in KW can be dated to roughly the same date to which the materials found in the dump can be assigned typologically, i.e., to some time in the ED III period. (2) One cannot easily explain a partial backfilling of a moat, since by its very nature the system consisting of a wall and a moat must be whole and complete to retain its defensive function: a partial backfilling of the moat, just like an occasional breach in the wall, cannot be reconciled with the goal for which it was built and maintained. Accordingly, it seems legitimate to give wider significance to the results obtained even though the exposure in KW is admittedly quite limited. It is interesting, at any rate, to

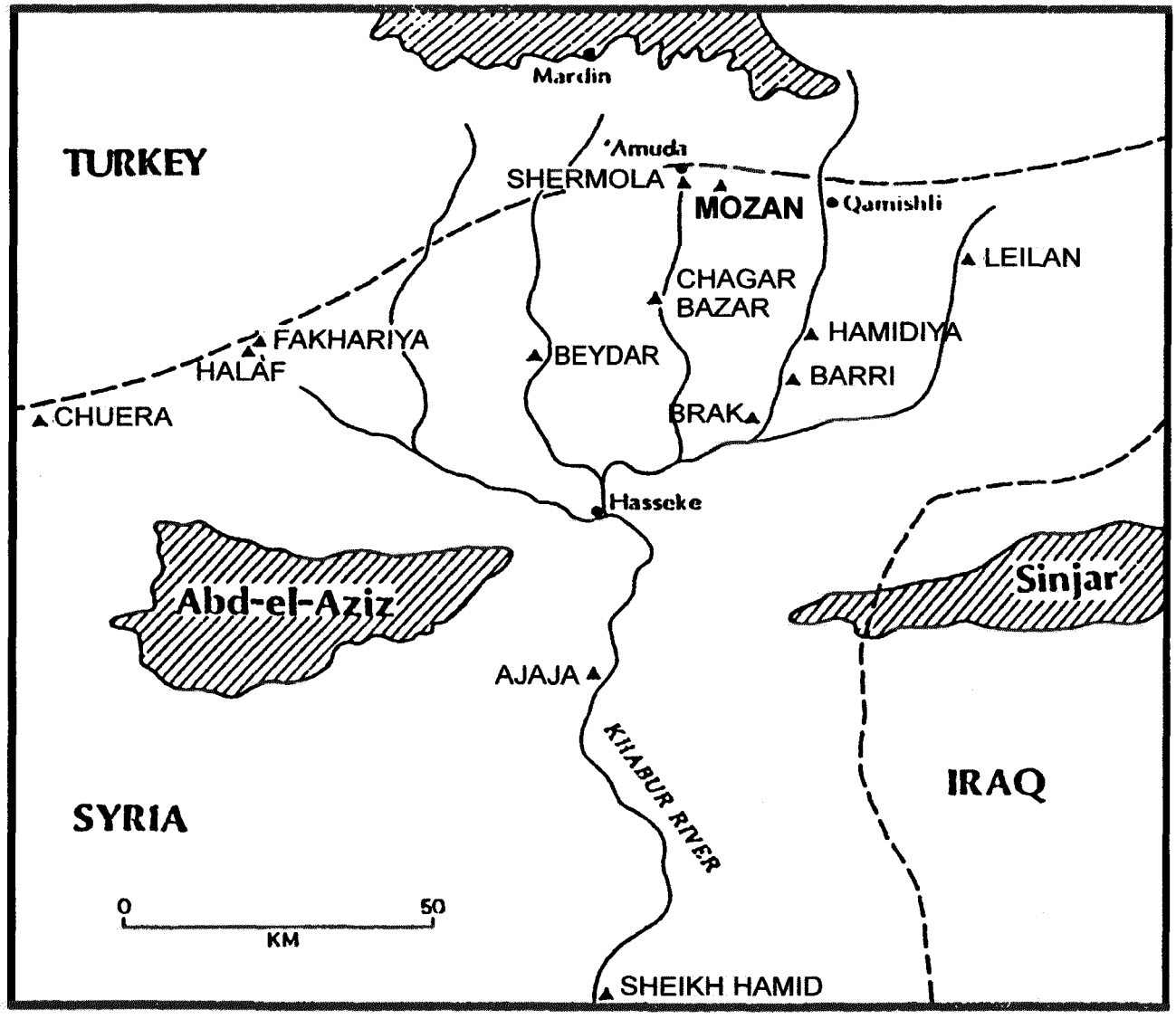


Fig. 1. Sites in the Khabur Region

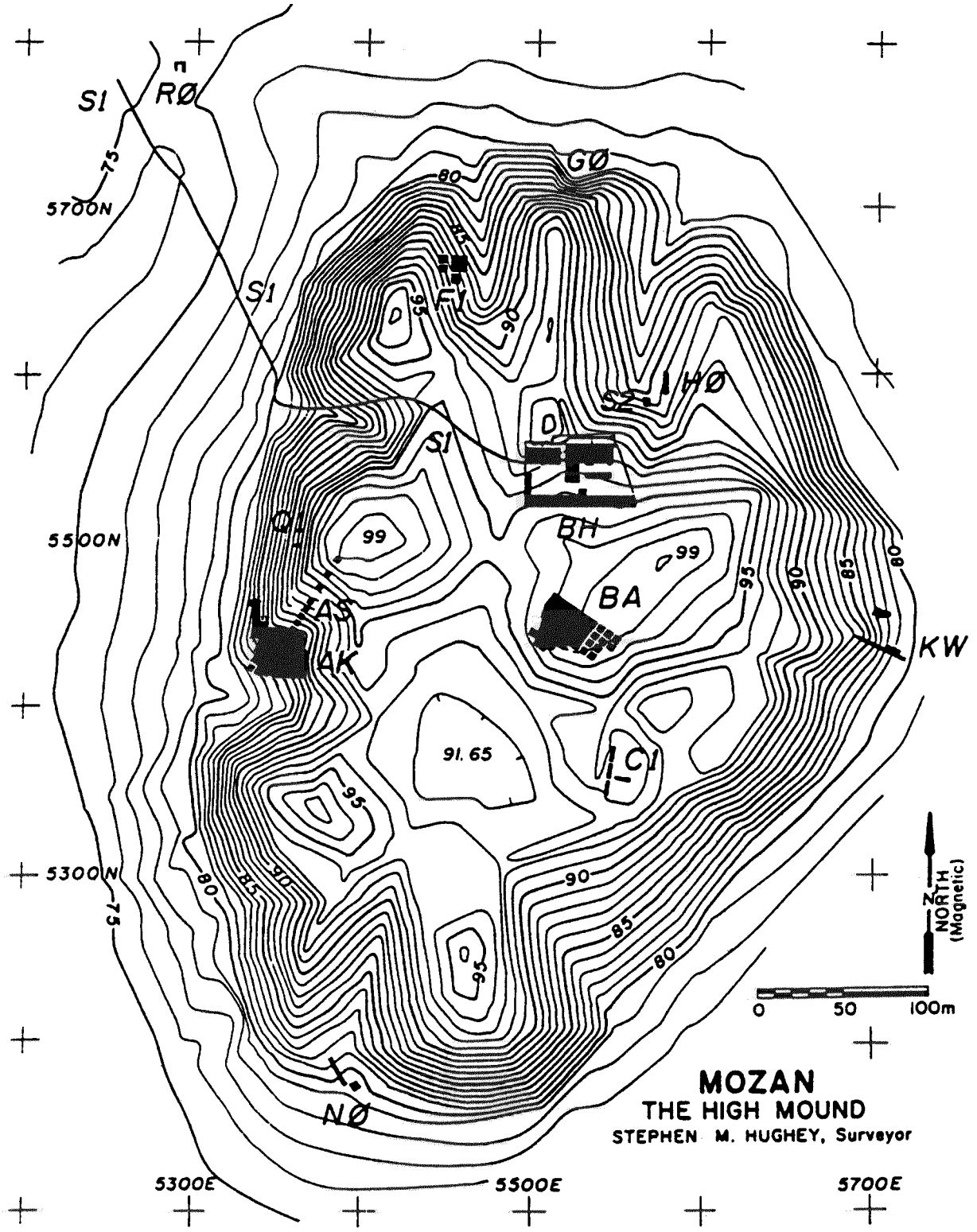


Fig. 2. The High Mound (excavations as of 1997)

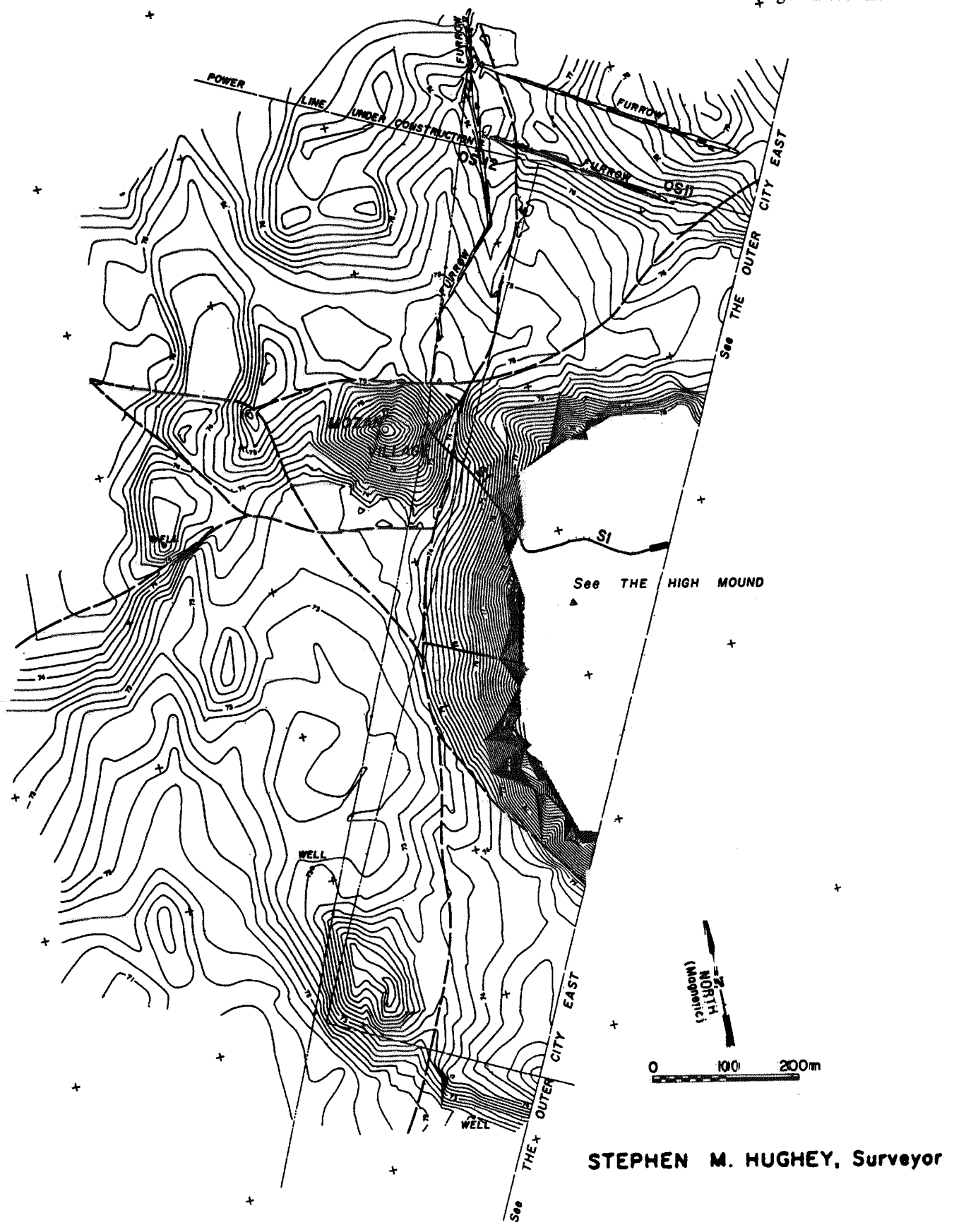


Fig. 3a. Tell Mozan: the Outer City (west)

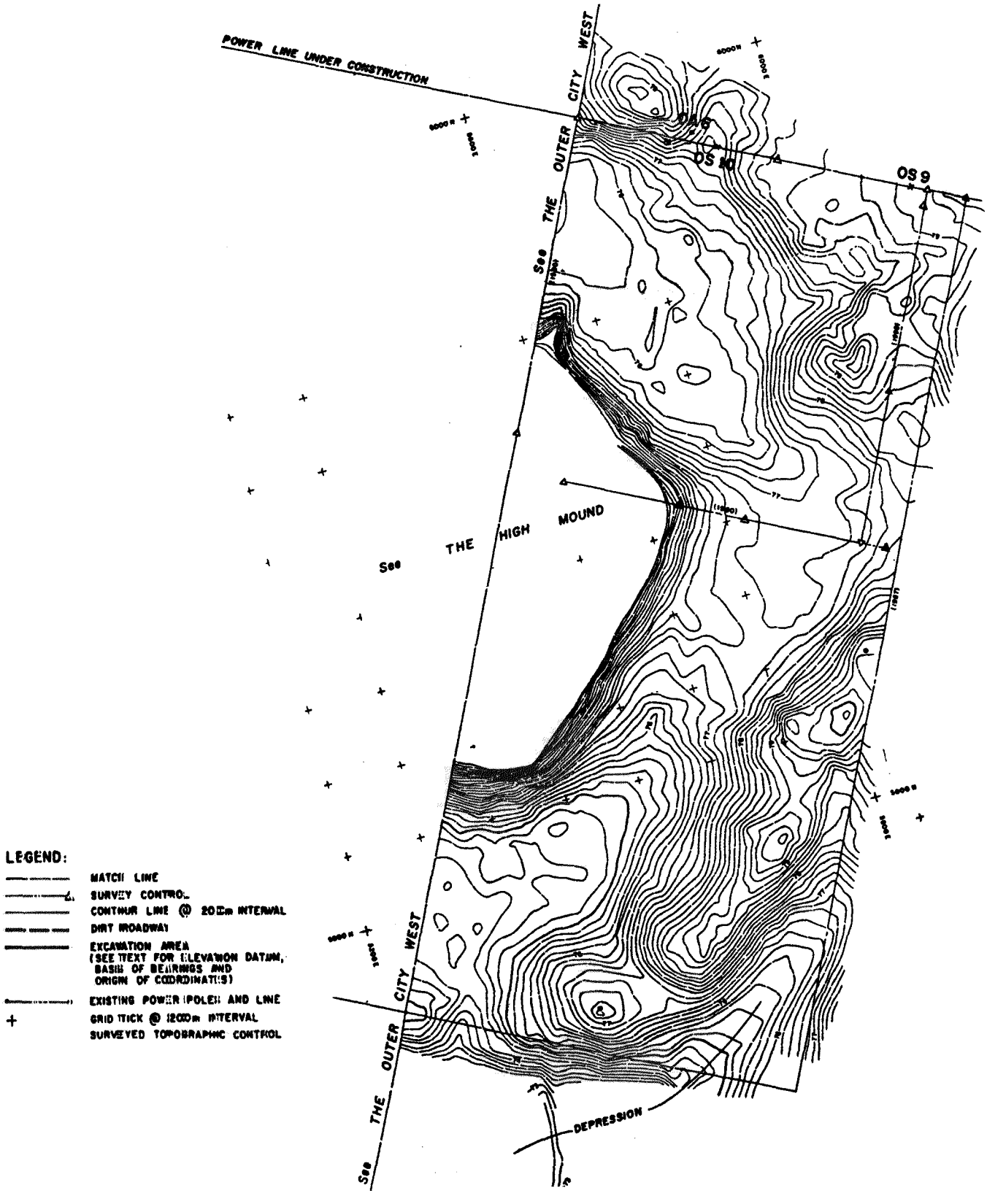


Fig. 3b. Tell Mozan: the Outer City (east)

note that the steep profile of the High Mound along all its edges (with the limited exception of Area AK) results clearly from this wall having served like a protective girdle: in the third millennium the settlement grew up within it, and in the second on top of it.

An important question which must remain unresolved is that pertaining to the existence of an outer city wall. Three factors can be adduced in support. (1) The topography of the site reveals a rise which is oval in shape, and which surrounds the entire site up to height of more than a meter (Fig. 3). Though there are several interruptions, one can clearly follow this rise all around the site, along a line which remains consistently equidistant from the base of the High Mound. No other such regular ridges can be seen. (2) There is a clear demarcation in the nature of the deposits within and without this external oval. Two major lines of evidence are pertinent in this respect. On the one hand, an extensive surface foot survey revealed the presence of very rich cultural material within this oval, while no such evidence was found without. On the other hand, the soundings OS10 through OS15 showed remarkable contrast between the areas inside and those outside the oval, the former being culturally rich, and the latter instead totally sterile. (3) If the inner city wall was indeed deprived of its defensive function somewhere in ED III, it would seem plausible to assume that an alternative defensive system was created, and that what is topographically recognizable as an outer ring might be precisely such a wall.

Unfortunately, various constraints have prevented us from carrying out excavations to resolve this issue. A preliminary sounding (OH1) was carried out in 1985 on the summit of the outer ring, and it did not reveal any trace of a wall; but the exposure was so limited that it could not contradict the possibility of there being a wall, if the sounding itself for instance were to have been within the core of a casemate structure.

2.2 The first phase of Temple BA

The earliest phase of the temple is dated to ED III, on the basis of both the finds and C14 determinations (for a brief discussion of these phases see *Hamidiya* pp. 125-126). What is remarkable about this dating is that the absolute elevation of this floor of the temple is very high, well near the highest point on the tell. At first, this had seemed to suggest that much of the higher parts of the tell would also have to be dated to the late third millennium, a suggestion which seemed in turn reinforced by the relatively high frequency of third millennium material on the surface of both the High Mound and the

Outer City (see *Mozan 1*, pp. 50-56). However, subsequent excavations in BH, F1, A4/A3, C1, and lastly in A7, A8, A9, showed otherwise, at least as far the High Mound is concerned. While the top of the southern part of the High Mound (Areas D and E) has not been tested yet, it would appear now that the Temple stood isolated at a considerable height above other third millennium buildings (see also Section 4.1), and that only in the early second millennium did the rest of the High Mound reach the same elevation as the Temple. On the other hand, none of the soundings in the Outer City could be dated to any period later than the third millennium, so that it may stand to reason that the rise in elevation of the center that occurred in the second millennium was matched by a shrinking of the perimeter of the settlement. In other words, the second millennium settlement (see below, Section 4) would have clustered on what were then the relatively lower slopes of the High Mound, and around the high central terrace of Temple BA, and not in the Outer City.

If the Temple stood isolated, it must have been the most important religious structure in the city. No clue was found in the excavations as to the identity of the deity worshiped there, except for the stone sculpture of a lion (see below, Chapter 4). This came from the debris of the first phase, piled up to serve as subfloor for a room (not preserved) of the second phase; it can, in other words, be dated to the first phase. We have no idea as to the original emplacement of this statue, but one may at least conjecture that it may have been connected with the cult of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. One further conjecture along similar lines is that the lions of Tish-Atal may also be connected with a later phase of the temple (see below, 3.2).

The nature of the rise on which the temple stood remains to be determined. It could hardly have been a natural hill of a height anywhere near that of the elevation of the Temple, because to the east the slope of the Tell is within some 50 m of the edge of the temple, and to the north our sounding S2 revealed a complete sequence of cultural deposit down to virgin soil some 100 m to the north. Within such confines, it is unlikely that any substantial natural rise could have existed on which to build the temple, nor are any such steep natural hills visible in the landscape today. It is certainly possible that a minor hill did exist, and that the earliest (and unexcavated) phases of the temple were built on it. At any rate, the major phases as we know them by the middle of the third millennium must have rested on some artificial terracing, whether derived in part from an earlier natural hill, or only from earlier strata of the Temple. That the terracing did not appear like a ziggurat is suggested by the very size of the temple, and by the additional fact that service areas have been identified in the areas adjacent to the Temple

itself (excavation units B3 and B5). Future excavations leading down from the Temple entrance in the direction of the Royal Building AK would of course help answer this question, though a fuller understanding of such a vast monumental complex would be a very long enterprise, especially since one would have to dig to a considerable depth through later Khabur period strata (see below, 4.1).

3 Late Third Millennium

3.1 The Royal Building AK

After the initial excavations in building AK, we postulated (*AfO*) that it was a royal storehouse: it was a storehouse because of the large number of sealings discarded on the floor, and it was royal because the inscriptions on the seals referred to the king and especially to the queen and her household. Further excavations to the north of the storehouse revealed that the storehouse belonged to a larger building, possibly the royal palace itself (*Orient Express* pp. 73-74). Reporting on the most recent work done in this area, I give here more information about this building, including various floor plans and a 3D reconstruction based on the work done during the most recent season of excavation (Summer 1997; see also below, Chapter 5). Figure 4 shows the Excavations Areas. Since our recording system is based entirely on absolute coordinates, we do not depend on orthogonal excavation units for measurements; rather, unit boundaries are extended as the strategy requires, and may in fact even overlap (as is the case with A8 vs. A6 and A10). Conceptually, an excavation unit, which corresponds to a recording book, is a registration as much as a volumetric entity. Since area labels are used as indices for the entire registration system of stratigraphic elements, including architectural features and objects, it is useful to map them as shown.[2] Figure 5 (=*PDS* 2.1) shows the major

[2] It must be noted that in 1997 we decided to change the orientation of the grid. The original step trench (started in 1990 and labeled AS) followed the topographic contour of the mound and was so placed as to run parallel with the presumed location of the mid third millennium city wall further to the west (see *PDS* 2.4-5). As it turned out, this AS grid was slightly oblique in relation to the orientation of Building AK, as shown at various places on the floor plan, and in particular by the line of squares in the area of Sectors J and F. The new AK grid was laid so as to be parallel with the orientation of Building AK, and this is reflected in some of the new squares which are shown on the same floor plan. Since, as already mentioned, all our measurements are in terms of absolute coordinates, the orientation of the grid has no direct impact on the coherence of our referential system.

sectors and gives room labels for the portion excavated. Figure 6 (= *PDS* 2.2) shows (in a three-dimensional version) the maximum projection which we are assuming at this stage (see also *PDS* 2.3).

The floor plan in Fig. 5 (= *PDS* 2.1) provides a good synopsis of the results obtained so far. The floor areas shown in darker grey (dark green in *PDS* 2.1) represent the earliest floor accumulations within the building. We can distinguish the successive accumulations because the floor surfaces were covered with a thin coat of gypsum plaster—except in Sector F1 where, in the small sounding labeled A9k5, we have exposed a beautiful pavement of baked bricks (this pavement is limited to the eastern portion of the locus, so we must infer that it did not cover the entire extent of the courtyard). A total of between three and five such accumulations constitute what we consider the earliest period of occupation, for a total depth of the deposit of about half a meter.

We know that these were the very first floors because we have exposed at various points the foundations of the walls. It is from these floors that the majority of seal impressions were recovered, including those which have allowed us to identify the site as ancient Urkesh and which we have already published (see especially *AfO*, *WZKM*, and *Subartu*).

A number of distinctive features were associated with these early floors and not with the later ones. In particular, we should mention the following: in room D1, a bread oven and a small andiron hearth; in C6, a square shaft lined with square bricks, which was found empty to a depth of about 2 m, and which might be interpreted as a toilet; a drain which slopes downward from the threshold of C6 toward C3 and has not yet been fully excavated; in C2 a bin, only partially excavated.

The areas shown in light grey (light green in *PDS* 2.1) indicate the higher floors and corresponding accumulations still contained within the walls of Building AK. In Sectors D and F these deposits reach a depth of almost 3 m, and it seems likely that such a state of preservation might continue as we excavate further to the east and to the north. There may be evidence that at some point in time the walls were rebuilt. (1) In some cases, bricks in the higher courses are different from those below. (2) A small disk-shaped feature in Sector E shown on the 1996 plan may best be interpreted as the bottom of a pit cut into the early floors, originally dug for making bricks, and preserved full of mud and straw before being covered by the new, higher floors. (We had considered the possibility that this "disk," described as a "round brick platform" in *Orient Express*, p. 73, might have served as the base for a column, but this alternative hypothesis must be

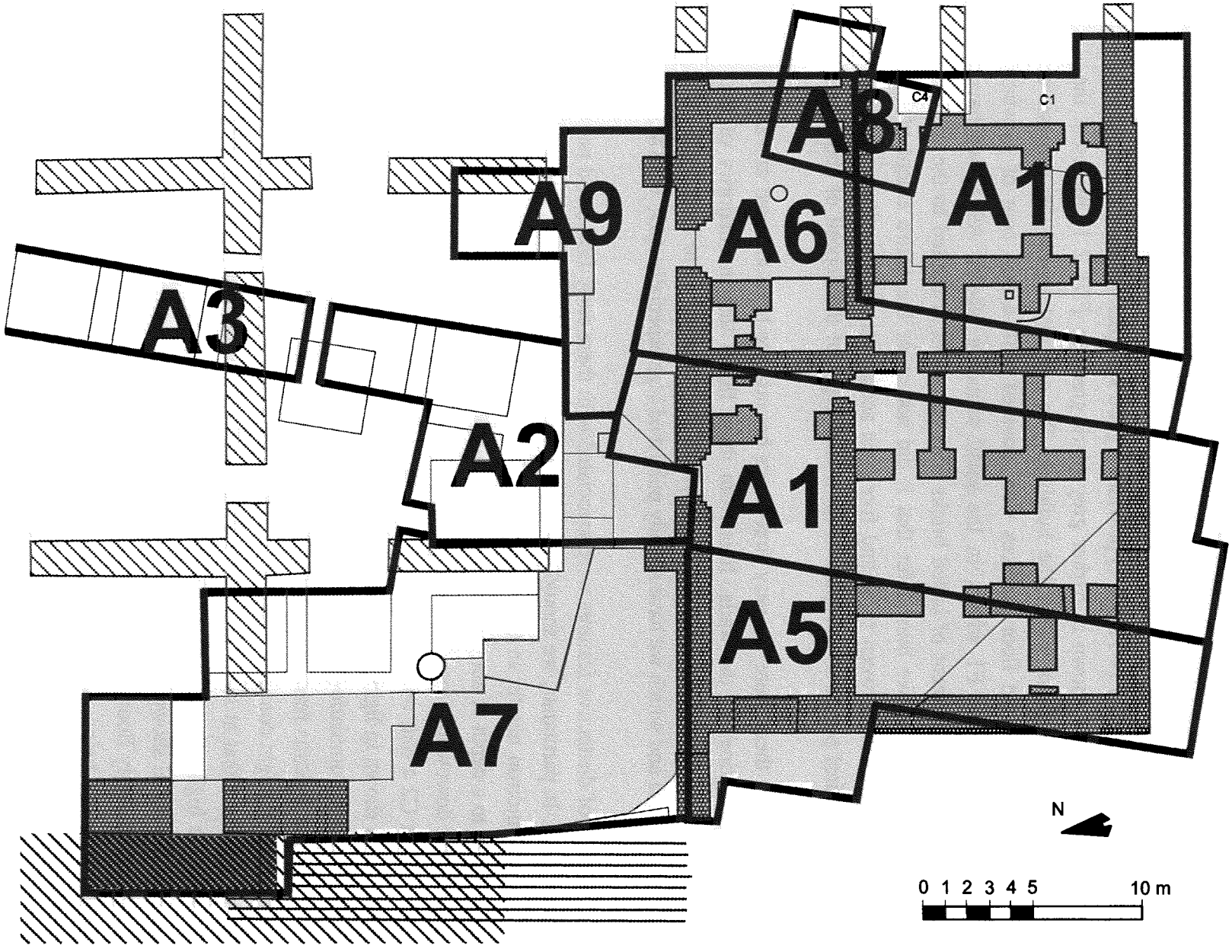


Fig. 4. Excavations Areas in Royal Building AK

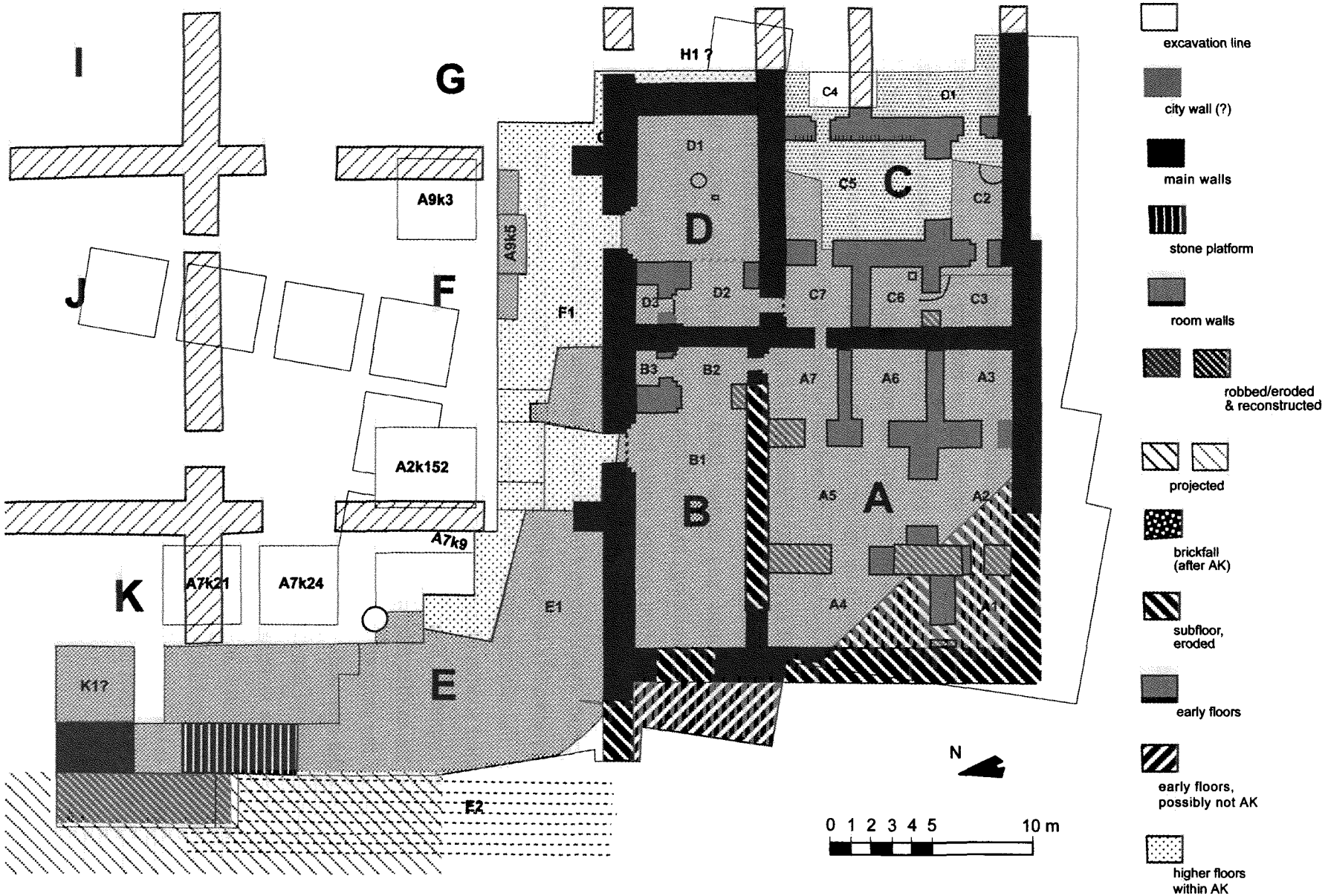


Fig. 5. Royal Building AK excavations as of 1997, with room labels.

discarded.)

All early floors in Sector E1 slope downward towards the east, i.e., down from the threshold toward the interior of the building. This is strange if the western edge of E1 is indeed to be considered as an external threshold. Yet so far we have not found any evidence for a wall that might delimit the room, instead of a threshold. Since the ancient accumulation is often only a few centimeters below the modern surface, and since we have deliberately kept our soundings limited until we could reach a better understanding of the entire sector, it is still possible that evidence for a wall might yet be found.

Two stratigraphic results of the last season of excavation (1997) are particularly pertinent here. The first is that in the strata above building AK we have late third millennium residential units on the west, but Khabur period residential units on the east. This means that, in the late third millennium, the area "behind" (i.e., to the east of) Royal Building AK was not built up yet, and that the temple BA (dated to ED III in its first phase) was standing isolated atop a terraced hill which dominated the Royal Building AK and was in direct view of it. This consideration has significant implications. It seems unlikely that other buildings might have been built at a higher elevation than the Royal Building (nor have we found any higher third millennium strata, earlier than or contemporaneous with this building, except of course for the temple). From this it would follow that the third millennium skyline would have been slightly different from the one we see today: while the temple was at the same rather exceptional height as today (about 23 m above the plain level), the rest of the city would have all been much lower. Since the temple was presumably covered with a pitched roof, along an east/west axis like the Royal Building, the skyline would have been rather dramatic and it could hardly be otherwise intended (comaparable, in some ways, to that of Tell Chuera).

The second important stratigraphic result is that the staircase and ramp appear to be built on top of the earlier city wall. The proximity of the city wall has been noted since the planning of the stepped trench AS, and in fact we placed the trench so as to avoid cutting across the city wall. I must confess that, working against our own assumptions, I had come to think of the city wall and presumed city gate as a factor conditioning our understanding of the storehouse as a storehouse—precisely on account of its being near a main access to the city. In point of fact, the wall was no longer in use by the latter part of the third millennium, for the reasons adduced above. Whether or not the staircase/ramp is built on top of the city wall (to determine this, further excavations are required), it is clear that at this particular point the remnants of the city wall were torn

down to make room for direct access to the palace from a wide-open area in front of it, and possibly also to provide an unobstructed view to the west.[3]

The projections in Fig. 6 (=*PDS* 2.2) contain a suggestion about a possible functional understanding of the building. It is of course possible that the building is smaller than projected; in principle, it could even terminate just north of sectors B, D, and H. But this is highly unlikely, given especially the regularity of the construction and the homogeneity of the deposit beyond the limits of the southern sectors. Assuming, then, a projected layout such as shown here (which would cover as much as 2400 m^2 of surface), we may mention the following in support of the functional interpretation proposed.

Entrance (Sector E). A relatively high number of conical cups was found in the floor deposits of Sector E. This suggests that drinks might have been offered to important visitors as a welcome upon their arrival. Of the many seal impressions found, several were identical to those from sectors A-D: this supports the assumption of a homogeneous occupation throughout the building. The structural layout remains unclear. Even assuming a wall between Sectors E and F, as reconstructed here, access to the courtyard F would have been wide open, since there is no wall to screen the view from the outside. Such an arrangement of space is puzzling. One of the circular structures which had begun to appear in the previous season and had suggested the possible presence of columns, is in fact a deep pit filled with collapsed mudbrick. There is no evidence for columns.

Courtyard (Sector F). The major problem is the one mentioned above, namely the lack of a wall screening access from the outside. The two walls projecting north from Sectors B and D (see *PDS* 2.9) give all the appearance of serving as doorjambs, but we have not found any trace of a matching doorjamb in the space to the north excavated thus far. This means that both doorways are at least 3 m wide. A portion of the courtyard was paved with beautiful baked bricks. These were found in a small sounding (A9k5), but may extend considerably farther.

[3] This explains the fact that only at this particular point in the topography of the tell is the circuit of the walls interrupted for a considerable length, resulting in a relatively wide and flat area near the base of the tell. This consideration is of particular interest since it sheds light on our choice of a higher point on the tell for the construction of the Expedition House. Unlike other tells, Tell Mozan has no real citadel with a middle city built around it; with the exception of the area where the Royal Building AK is located, no middle ground is available on the slopes of the tell. If we did not choose area AK, the only possible middle ground then available, it was because surface collections and preliminary soundings suggested that area BH, where the house came to be located, was among the most recent to have been occupied in the settlement history of the ancient city.

Fig. 6. 3-D rendering of Royal Building AK (maximal projection).
View looking northwest, with presumed functional definition of sectors.

Reception area (Sector B). Goods were brought in through the door leading from the courtyard. They were delivered in sealed containers. In our view, the seal identified both the sender and the beneficiary of the delivery: for instance, goods from the estate of the queen would be delivered to the palace to be stored there on her own behalf. Upon receipt, the seal was broken and the content verifed. This would account for the large number of seal impressions found discarded on the floor in Sector B. We may assume that at this point the goods were accessioned by the scribes through a regular accounting procedure, and were then sent for storage in Sector A.

Storage area (Sector A). In contrast with the rest of the building, most of the floor deposits in this sector were lost through erosion. Hence we can infer function only through the layout. The walls, too, were later quarried for stone. Differently from our earlier reconstruction, we assume that there was no entrance from the south (though this is uncertain, since the corner walls are also eroded). If so, the sector would be accessible only through the small room A7, and such relative seclusion would fit well with the interpretation of the space as a storage area.

Kitchen [*Sector D* (see *PDS* 2.9)]. The presence of a relatively large oven in the middle of the room, endowed with a flue, and of a small hearth, indicates that the room served for food preparation. There are no other major installations of any sort, nor are the finds particularly indicative of cooking. The oven was well cared for, since it was rebuilt several times. Its size, its location at the center of the room, and its condition, leave no doubt that cooking was the main function of this sector. The deposition contained within the walls of the original building reaches the height of 3 m in this sector. Some of the walls themselves were preserved to this height.

Services (Sectors C—and H?). Only a small portion of this sector has been excavated to the level of the early floors. The presence of a drain and a deep shaft lined with baked bricks, possibly a toilet, in room C6, suggests that the sector may have served as a support area for the kitchen. The existence of a separate Sector H is questionable: it is possible that Sector C developed in an L-shaped form around Sector D to join with Sector G.

Ceremonial (Sector G) and Residential areas (Sectors K, I, J). The suggested interpretation is totally hypothetical, and is based solely on the possibility that the building may be a palace, in which case we would expect these two functions to be reflected in the architecture. There is a suggestion of a split-level deposition in K (a possible ramp and congruence of the finds from higher strata with those of the early floors). This might imply that there was a second story, but presumably terraced, i.e.,

built on top of earlier deposition, and not raised. There are possible indications of destruction strata in Sector K. If so, the physiognomy of the deposition may change dramatically, since up until now the building is characterized by undisturbed, long-term deposition.

3.2 The second phase of Temple (?) BA

The second phase of the building BA cannot be identified with certainty as a temple, although some indications seem to suggest it. What is certain is that the general layout had changed considerably from what is known of Phase 1. Two elements stand out in particular. The main entrance of Phase 1 had been blocked, and the area toward the back of the building had been raised, with access to the higher level made possible through a corridor and steps. The raised portion was filled in with material which apparently came from a destruction of the Temple of Phase 1.

Some observations may suggest that the structure continued in fact to be a temple. On the one hand, there is some ceramic material, preserved on a bench, aligned with the western wall of the corridor, which may be linked with cultic use, in particular a burner. Also, the presence of the lion statue in the debris used to form a raised platform might be interpreted as an intentional reburial of a decayed statue, even though we found no other indication that this might have been the function of the rubble heap derived from the apparent destruction of the earlier phase.

On the other hand, one is tempted to speculate on the provenience of the bronze lions of Tish-atal, and link them with this phase of building BA. Since they originate in Urkesh (see *Mozan 1*, pp. 32 f.), and since they were sold (hence, almost certainly found) together as a pair, it seems logical to infer that they had been found at Tell Mozan in their original context, and not too deep below the surface—for the tell showed no signs of large-scale clandestine excavations. The Temple at the top of the tell is a likely source, since a modern burial ground is to be found in the immediate vicinity, and excavations for a tomb may have yielded the lions, while the further discovery of the large stones used as foundations for the Temple may have discouraged the villagers from pursuing the attempt to bury their dead in this area. An intrusion was found in the middle of the access platform, but not under the threshold nor in the corners of the Phase 1 building, where foundation deposits would normally be expected; nor would the lions of Tish-atal fit with the ED III date for Phase 1 of the temple. It is possible that the corners and threshold of the Phase 2 building were still preserved a few decades ago, but so close

to the surface that they would easily have come to the attention of the local villagers shortly before the time (1948) when they came to be sold on the market in Amuda. If so, they could be adduced retrospectively to identify the deity of the temple as the god Nergal (see below, Chapter 9), to whom the Temple of Tish-atal was dedicated. Clearly, however, this remains a simple speculation.

3.3 The residential areas

The building in Area F1 has been described briefly in *Mozan 2* (pp. 10-14). Its function (whether administrative or residential), and even the precise articulation of spaces, remain uncertain. The date, provided by the epigraphic finds made there, is the late Akkadian period.

In the strata above Royal Building AK a total of four house complexes were excavated. They were all in the western portions of the excavations [in excavation units A7k9, A7k24, and A2k152; see Fig. 5 (see *PDS* 2.5)]. The dating is generally at the end of the third millennium. Some 16 graves, also dating to the end of the third millennium, have been found throughout the L-shaped area which overlays Sectors C, F, and E; a fairly rich assemblage of bronze objects was found therein. The resulting impression is that, after the abandonment of Building AK, we are dealing with a settlement consisting of modest installations not necessarily articulated within a homogeneous town plan. This impression, however, may be conditioned by the fact that these structural remains were found on the slopes of the present mound, and thus have been affected by erosion. Continued excavation in this area may provide evidence for the existence of more organic links among the houses, if not for town planning proper. For now, the following observations will suffice. The graves appear to be later and to have been placed in shafts, as one would expect. (In one case, the nature of the emplacement seemed at first to suggest the possibility of a tumulus, but in the end the evidence did not bear this out.) The pits may be contemporaneous with the houses to the extent that they were used for storage, but in each case their fill consisted only of refuse. To clarify all of this, we need to clear and study more closely the horizontal correlation of the various installations and accumulations, even if this means delaying the uncovering of the "palace" strata.

It is interesting to note that most of this later occupation was along two distinct transects, i.e., the northwestern and the southeastern portions of the area occupied by Building AK. These two transects would correspond to the same two ridges that are apparent in the topography of the tell as visible today [see the contours still visible

outside the excavated area of AK in Fig. 2 (see also *PDS* 2.4)]. It is our general impression that the northwestern transect may be earlier, but this requires a more extensive horizontal exposure.

An important question pertains to the type of evidence we may have for the abandonment of Building AK. An extensive brickfall (shown in Fig. 5) may be part of this evidence. It rests above the accumulation within Building AK, an accumulation which at this juncture is about 2 m in height. The direction of the fall is towards the south-southwest. There is an outside possibility that the material may come from a second story of Building AK, whereby Sectors K, J, I (and part of G?) would have been raised as a split level or terraced series of floors. The reasons, admittedly quite tenuous, for this hypothesis come both from structural considerations and from the homogeneity of the material in the upper levels of Sector K (as exposed so far) and the first-floor accumulations of Building AK (in Sectors A through E). But whatever the origin of the brickfall, it is reasonable to assume that it might extend east into Sector E and part of Sector F. If so, it is desirable to keep it as a stratigraphic seal before we descend across the entire area into the accumulations contained within AK proper.

Besides the brickfall, we have at the moment three more clues. (1) In the eastern portion of Sector F (including the excavation unit A9k3 shown in Fig. 5) we have found a rather amorphous clayish mass, relatively clean of cultural inclusions and very hard and compact. This clayish mass was in part contained within the walls and accumulations of Building AK. We are entertaining the assumption that this represents a brick melt from the original AK Building itself, possibly from a higher (split-level?) story in Sectors G, I, and J. (2) In Sector D (and partly also in Sectors F and E), the accumulation within Building AK is very high (almost to 3 m), and very regular, without any trace of a structural reorganization of space, other than some occasional narrowing of doorways. Nor is there any trace of destruction, which lowers the expectation of finding important objects. (3) In Sector K, on the other hand, there is indication of burning, which may suggest destruction by fire. If that is so, and if we are in fact still within the confines of Building AK, the nature of the finds pertaining to AK rooms would change considerably.

4 Second Millennium

4.1 Khabur period

It has been noted above (Section 2.2) that overall urban density seems to have decreased considerably in the second millennium. While a city of Urkesh continues to be mentioned in OB texts (*Mozan 1*, p. 34; see now also D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 8, p. 384, for a Mari text that gives the spelling Ur-gi-iš^{KI}), sometimes as the seat of a king, it clearly plays but a very minor role in the geo-political situation of the Khabur plains. And this fits the meager evidence we have from Tell Mozan.

The third phase of Building BA, which is even less likely to have served as a temple than Phase 2, may belong to this period. There is, however, hardly any diagnostic material from it, since it consists primarily of a platform encasing a fine and hard, and relatively sterile, gray packing, which obviously served as a substructure for a building of some importance which we no longer have. Erosion would have been considerable over the three millennia that followed the abandonment of the site.

In A3 (the location is shown in Fig. 4) a massive brick structure was found, dating to this period, for which we have no ready explanation. It may simply be the corner of two or more private houses. But it might also be the remnant of a more important structure, possibly a later version of the royal palace which, if Royal Building AK may be so interpreted, would have existed in the same location a few centuries earlier. Otherwise, the only house belonging to this period was excavated in A8 (see Fig. 4 for the location of this excavation unit). It was largely eroded by the tell slope, and it is likely that more houses may be found as excavations proceed to the east. It appears, therefore, that a considerable Khabur period deposition ought to be preserved in the central part of the tell, encircling the terrace on which temple BA stood.

Several burials belonging to the Khabur period were found. In A8, A3, and A1 we had shafts lined with bricks, slightly corbeled toward the center, and then capped by bricks placed vertically on wooden boards. As the boards eroded, the roofing collapsed, except in A8, where it was still found mostly in place. The burials in A8 and A3 had simple ceramic offerings inside. The one in A1 was dug down to the level of the first AK floor (it did not cut it, but it came so neatly on top of it that it removed the entire floor accumulation, thus depriving us of the sealings that were certainly contained therein). This was the largest of all the burials we have excavated, but it was totally empty; the roof had collapsed, and a good portion of the side walls had eroded. The location of this

tomb suggests that the accumulation on top of Royal Building AK was relatively limited in this area. Another burial was found in C1 (see Fig. 5 for the location of this excavation area), in an open shaft, and with a certain number of bronze objects.

A number of bread ovens and hearths were found, in what appear to have been open areas; it was not always possible to link these installations specifically to domestic residences. A number of pits were discovered in the L-shaped area over Sectors C, F, and E, most of them filled with refuse. In some cases, the refuse was contained within large and deep hollows, which had not originally been excavated as pits but had formed as a result of changing topographic contour following the abandonment of Building AK. The refuse is all of a domestic nature. The impression one gains is that of a scattered occupation, partly in open areas next to domestic quarters.

4.2 Nuzi period

In only two areas did we find evidence of Nuzi period structures. One is at the very summit of the tell, and consists of the top two squares, labelled A4, of the step trench AS (Fig. 2). There were the remains of very modest private houses, even more modest that those in BH (see presently), since no painted vessels were found here, but only common ware ceramics.

The largest exposure of Nuzi period strata occurred in the area excavated to investigate the proposed location for the Expedition House, BH. The entire area exposed belonged, in fact, to this period, to a maximun depth of some 2 ms. Only in a few points, particularly to the northwest, did some earlier material begin to appear. The remains were those of small private houses, with wall substructures made of relatively small stones, and outdoor floor surfaces with pebbles and sherds embedded vertically in the ground, to provide a paving relatively resistant to water erosion. The most interesting finds were some sherds of painted Nuzi ware.

Our decision to build the Expedition House at this location was conditioned by the nature of the finds, which belonged to the last phase, and admittedly the one that was historically the least interesting. But it also depended on the fact that nowhere else on the mound was there a relatively level middle ground that might be suitable for our purposes. It is in fact a characteristic feature of Tell Mozan that, unlike other mounds in the Khabur region, it does not have a mid-level step half way between a higher citadel or acropolis and the lower city only slightly higher than the modern plain level (see above, n. 3). The only possible exception would have been the area which came to be labeled

AK, which lies within the perimeter of the High Mound, and exhibits at the same time a fairly large and relatively flat space at a lower elevation. We excluded this area from consideration because of the high concentration of surface material dating to the early periods which, as it turned out, corresponded in fact to the Royal Building AK. It should also be noted that we excluded from consideration the area of the Outer City because this entire area is subject to severe, overall flooding during the Winter, which would have necessitated the construction of excessively large foundations. Accordingly, even though the sight of the Expedition House as one approaches the tell is forbidding because of its location so high on the tell itself, it must be acknowledged that our original choice, based on what appeared to be reasonable presumptions, has been further supported by the progress of excavations at the site.

Acknowledgments

As always, our work at Tell Mozan has benefited from the unfailing support of the Director General of Antiquities and Museums, Dr. Sultan Muhesen; the Director of Excavations, Dr. Adnan Bounni; the Directors of Antiquities for the region of Hassaka, Mr. Jean Lazar and Mr. Abd-el-Mesiah Bakdou; and the representatives of the Directorate, Mr. Ali Ali and Mr. Tha'er Yarta. To all I wish to express, with our entire staff, our warm gratitude for helping to make our research activity in Syria so rewarding on the scholarly as well as the human level.

References

AfO G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 42-43 (1995-96), 1-32.

Hamidiya M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Three Seasons of Excavation at Tell Mozan," in S. Eichler, M. Wäfler, D. Warburton, *Tall al-Hamidiya 2*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis: Series Archaeologica 6, Göttingen (1990), pp. 119-132.

Mozan 1 G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons.* Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 20, Malibu: Undena, 1988.

Mozan 2 L. Milano, M. Liverani, G. Buccellati, and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 2. The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*, Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 5/1 (1991), Malibu: Undena.

Orient Express G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Evidence for a Royal Palace at Tell Mozan/ Urkesh," *Orient Express* 1996/3, 72-76

RLA G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Mozan, Tall," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8 (5/6), 1988, pp. 386-393.

Subartu G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Courtiers of the Queen of Urkesh: Glyptic Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK," *Subartu* (in press).

WZKM G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86 (1996) 65-100, Pl. 1-7.

3

The Workshops of Urkesh

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati
California State University, Los Angeles

Introduction

Questions of local production vs. the use of externally manufactured goods are of fundamental importance for the understanding of aspects of the efficient functioning of such a large ancient city as Urkesh. What types of articles were produced within the city and its surrounding hinterland, where were the raw materials for each of the individual types of production obtained, and how can these products be analyzed so as to first separate the moments of production and then identify discrete production units or workshops? From our excavations at Tell Mozan we can begin to answer some of these questions, especially in the area of glyptics, metal objects (tools, weapons, and objects for personal ornamentation), stone sculpture, and ceramics. These latter two categories will be the focus of the first part of this article, since we have in them clearer evidence for production methods combined with a sufficiently large and varied corpus to yield to stylistic analysis indications of the presence of distinct production units within the city. After this discussion the focus will shift to the study of a body of clay cylinder seal impressions, which is the source of major new evidence for seal-carving workshops at Urkesh.[1]

[1] The results of the initial analysis of the inscribed seal impressions have already been published and the final publication of the seal impressions excavated in the AK royal building during the 1991 through the 1996 seasons is now in final preparation stage. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 42-43 (1995-96), pp. 1-32; "The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western

In a discussion of ancient workshops two initial points must be addressed that relate to individual creative contributions in the development of an artistic style and to the role of the individual in the creation of specific works of art. Both of these questions can best be taken up after the discussion in Part II below, since it is from the seal impressions excavated in the Royal Building AK that we have the largest body of evidence.

I. The Production of Stone Sculpture

Two objects found in Mozan stand out in this category of stone sculpture.[2] The first is a stele probably set up in the temple, while the second is a small figure of a lion found in the temple debris. It seems logical to think that both would have been carved for the temple where the stele, if set up there, would have been placed on a freestanding pedestal, given the fact that its two sides were both carved. While the stele only tangentially conveys a religious message, the lion probably was directly connected with temple ceremonies, given the symbolic importance of the lion for the third millennium city of Urkesh.

Round-Topped Double-Sided Stele [Ills. 7A and 7B (*PDS* 2.12)]

A relief carved in stone (B1.19) in the shape of a round-topped double-sided stele was discovered just outside the temple BA structure.[3] This unfinished small stele came from

Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes: Festschrift Hans Hirsch*, 86 (1996), pp. 75-100. M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Nuzi Viewed from Urkesh, Urkesh Viewed from Nuzi: Stock Elements and Framing Devices in Northern Syro-Mesopotamia," *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, 8 (1996), pp. 247-268; *Seal Impressions from the Urkesh Royal Building AK*, forthcoming.

[2] For the general setting and a preliminary discussion see M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Three Seasons of Excavation at Tell Mozan," in S. Eichler et al, Eds., *Tall al-Hamidiya 2* (1990), pp. 119-132; G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Tell Mozan," in *Mille et Une Capitales de Haute Mesopotamia, Les Dossiers d'Archeologie.* No. 155 (December 1990), pp. 18-23; "Urkesh, The First Hurrian Capital," *Biblical Archaeologist* 60 (June 1997), pp. 77-96; see also *Mozan I: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (1988).

[3] M. Kelly-Buccellati, "A New Third Millennium Sculpture from Mozan," in Albert Leonard and Bruce Beyer Williams, Eds., *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor.* 1989, pp. 149-154. Two topics will not be treated in this article because they merit a longer discussion than is possible here. One is the recently discovered stone plaque fragment from the AK building. The portion we have depicts Gilgamesh and Enkidu. The second is the comparison between the two bronze lions of Tish-atal. Since casts of these lions have been united in the new museum at Deir ez-Zor and in the new exhibit

a disturbed area along the northern parameter wall of the temple BA located near the highest portion of the High Mound. Including its distinctive rounded top, it measures 9 cm in height and 11.2 cm in preserved length. The stone is triangular in section. While a portion of both the top and bottom of this stele is preserved, its full length is missing; this is clear from broken traces on the stone itself and from the iconography. The sides are each carved with a single scene. The portion not preserved probably represents a little less than half of the original stele, based on the design.

On Side A a herd of cattle is carved with two animals clearly shown in movement. Their bodies are crossed but not in the static pattern found in southern crossed-animal designs produced during the Early Dynastic period, rather in an organic design which emphasizes the natural movement of an animal herd. This can be understood not only through the placement of the bodies but also by the fact that the animal legs are all depicted in motion. Additional animals were included in this scene as the head and a portion of the neck of a third animal are shown behind the horns of the second animal. The iconography of cattle herding in Mozan should come as no surprise. In his analysis of the faunal evidence from Mozan, including the data from inside and surrounding this temple, Sandor Bökönyi found that one-seventh of the bones belonged to cattle.[4]

The low relief on Side B depicts a plowman behind his draft animal; above him the hindquarters of a dog, with a straight tail extended over the head of the plowman, are preserved. The hoofed feet and legs of the draft animal are clearly shown in movement, in contrast with the resting position of the dog. The plowman is depicted with a long nose, large eye, short, pointed beard and a short skirt. He holds a plow in his left hand. The remarkable character of this scene comes from the dynamic aspects of the composition. The plowman is carved so that his leg appears to be pushing off from a diagonal line at the end of the scene. Since this diagonal line is unfinished in the carving, it is impossible to know what it represents. However, the diagonal inclination of the body and head of the plowman emphasize the dramatic movement forward.

One of the reasons for considering this piece a local carving is based on the fact that it was left in an unfinished state. Traces of the carving tool can be clearly seen in the chisel marks on the top, bottom, and along the one preserved end of the stone; tool

on the Hurrians in the Harvard Semitic Museum, it is clear that a reconsideration of the style of the two lions needs to be made.

[4] Giorgio Buccellati, Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, Rick Hauser, and Sandor Bökönyi, "The Mozan/Urkesh Archaeological Project (1993-95 Seasons)," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997) 133-135.

marks are also left on the relief figures themselves. In addition, parts of the scenes are unfinished; this is especially clear at the preserved ends of the two designs. Based on visual observation, the material of the stele can be found locally; it is carved from a white calcareous stone readily available on the nearby southern slopes of the Tur Abdin today. A similar stone is employed in the stone foundations of the third millennium temple, the AK royal building, as well as third millennium tombs. Thus there are clear indications that this stele was carved in the city or at most in the immediate vicinity.

While we have parallels in southern Mesopotamia for the shape of this stele,[5] there are none for its combined iconography. Fragments of a stone stele were discovered at Halawa on the floors of the late third millennium temple.[6] The Halawa example also appears to be locally made, because of its unusual iconography and the fact that the stone is available in the vicinity. The single carved side of the Halawa stele is divided into registers with a figure on the bottom register holding a pair of reins behind a draft animal. However, the designs of the two sides of the Mozan stele are very different from the rest of the Halawa stele.[7] Parallels for our stele are not found elsewhere in the Syro-Mesopotamian area, but it should be pointed out that the motifs are singularly appropriate for the local ecology, with farming and animal herding as the main sources of the ancient diet. Our motifs recall the agricultural and pastoral economic bases, which form a strong portion of the wealth of the city of Urkesh.

Since the stele was found near the northern wall of the temple, it might have belonged to a workshop furnishing sculpture for this same temple. We discovered no evidence for such a workshop, but remains of activities connected with the temple did come from this area, including three weights used in spinning. Along the exterior of the northern wall of the temple we excavated an unbaked brick pavement on top of which were traces of

[5] Jutta Borker-Klahn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und Vergleichbare Felsreleifs*, Baghdader Forschungen Vol. 4 (Mainz am Rhein, 1982), especially the Early Dynastic inscribed stele from Ur, number 15, on p. 123 although the Mozan stele is too narrow on the ends to contain a relief. The Ur example is larger, being 25x25 cm; however, the Mozan stele may have originally been almost this length.

[6] Winfried Orthmann, "Tell Halawa 1982," *AfO* 31(1984) 142-146; "Art of the Akkade Period in Northern Syria and Mari," *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 469-474.

[7] In the upper register of the Halawa relief one of the presumably female figures is holding a small child. In this connection the Chuera relief of goddesses holding small children and animals should be recalled. A. Moortgat and U. Moortgat-Correns, *Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien* (1976), pp. 51-57. In both the Chuera and the Halawa reliefs the scenes are designed with a row of figures holding small animals or one or more children. Neither of these scenes with children reflect the same type of iconography as the Urkesh royal seals.

reed matting; this matting must have served as a temporary roofing over the pavement. Also on the north were a series of walkways constructed out of small stones and large sherds lying flat. These walkways were deliberately built with a border along the sides made from broken jar rims placed upright. It appears that this area functioned as a use area connected with the temple but with no direct access to the interior. The area probably contained small stalls and workshops made from flimsy material.

Direct dating criteria for the Mozan stele are difficult to establish. The main levels of the temple with which the exterior pebble walkways can be associated, are dated on the basis of the ceramics and the few seal impressions found there to the later part of ED III. However, in this entire Khabur area the third millennium ceramic dating for the second half is vague at best.[8] An additional problem stems from the fact that the iconography has no parallels, either in the surrounding north Syrian region or in southern Mesopotamia. The iconography and style of the stele are close to early Akkadian art, especially in the lack of patterning and the emphasis on naturalistic movement.[9] The situation is made even more interesting by the startling new and dynamic royal iconography of Urkesh, which is prefigured in this stele. The later royal glyptic style may have been made possible because of innovations in earlier third millennium workshops. Further reinforcing this point is the fact that the over forty seal impressions excavated in a burnt deposit outside the city wall in K1, and dating to the ED III period for the most part, also stress naturalism.[10]

Lions (Ill. 1 and *PDS* 2.11)

While the stele is obviously associated with the fruitfulness of the local environment, a small stone statue of a lion found in the destruction level of the temple recalls the mythology surrounding the ancient city of Urkesh. Two beautiful bronze lions are connected with Urkesh and one of its kings, Tishatal.[11] The stone lion described here

[8] Nevertheless, a number of major excavations, of which Brak and Mozan are typical, do permit more precise ceramic connections within well stratified contexts. The Syrian Jezeriah Field Workshop to be held in May 1998 will certainly contribute to the understanding of the ceramic chronology in the region.

[9] M. Kelly-Buccellati, 1989, p. 154.

[10] M. Kelly-Buccellati, 1988, pp. 67-80.

[11] See especially Chapter 12 in this volume. The Louvre lion was first published in A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol, "Un document de foundation huritte," *Revue Assyrologie* 42 (1948), pp. 1-20. See also D Parayre, "L'attribution de sculptures aux Hurrites," in M.T. Barrelet et al, *Methodologie et Critiques I:*

was excavated in the red clay platform of the temple.[12] The reclining attitude of the figure[13] and the naturalistic rendering of the lion mane convey a powerful image.[14] This lion statue was found in a thick collapse deposit, which was compacted following the destruction of an earlier phase, and served as a subfloor for a structure that is poorly preserved. Since it was very near the altar, it may have represented the deity worshiped in the temple. While there is no direct evidence that this statue was carved in Mozan, the naturalism of the rendering of the mane would again be in keeping with the general style seen in many other products of the city's workshops.

II. The Production of Clay Sculpture

The high quality of the production of modeled ceramics is clearly shown by the large number of animal figurines found at Mozan (see Chapter 6 in this volume). Nevertheless figurines are associated with a type and do not as a rule represent an individual figure, be it human or animal. Another kind of clay object is more properly to be associated with sculpture in the round. Two such examples from our excavations represent human heads. One is from the Khabur period; I will not discuss it here, but only publish a photograph (Ill. 6). This cannot be taken in the sense of a portrait but rather a stylized representation of a figure with enough iconographic specificity to indicate that a particular individual was intended to be represented.

The second human head represents a bearded male made of clay and was excavated from directly below the surface on the south end of the AK building.[15] Since it was just below the surface we cannot tell if it is in its original context. It does appear to be *in situ* because it was discovered next to a wall of the AK building, with no evidence of disturbance nearby. While it is made of clay, it does not appear to have been baked and was found with deep cracks, especially in the upper portion (Ills 3-5 and *PDS* 2.13). The clay on the exterior is fine but in the broken portions small pebbles can be seen. It was broken below the neck with its full beard preserved except for one corner. Hair patterns

Problèmes Concernant les Hurrites. Paris, 1977, pp. 115-190.

[12] Field number B1.164; height 12 cm, width 10.2 cm.

[13] See reclining lion images on two seals of the king, Ill. 2, discussed below.

[14] M. Kelly-Buccellati, 1990, p. 127.

[15] Field No. A1.23. Height 4.1 cm; 2.6 cm in width measured from the widest portion of the head at the ears.

were lightly incised on the top and back of the head.

The face is prominently highlighted by a high forehead and subtly modeled eyebrows. The deeply set eyes are small pierced holes, very different from the usual large prominent eyes prevalent in this time period in the south. There is no indication that the eyes were ever intended for inlays. Below, the high cheeks are modeled so that they have the bulging appearance of some Mari statues. The deeper modeling around the mouth, the high rounded cheeks, and the inset eyes give to the face an air of specificity and even of "personality." The wide nose is flattened and appears unbroken, while the mouth is small above a somewhat pointed chin. There is no visible break between the ears and head, so that they were formed with the same clay as the head and not added later; they are rounded and pierced with holes in the center. The beard starts on the side of the head at the level of the eyes as lightly incised parallel wavy lines and continues in heavier wavy lines down the beard, which is squared off at the bottom. The proportions of this head are striking in that it is essentially divided into three: the forehead, the face, and the beard.

Since there are no parallels for this head, it appears more than likely that it was made locally, even though the lack of similar material from the site makes this difficult to prove positively.

III. Evidence for Local Workshops Based on the Urkesh Seal Impressions

Introduction

Over 1200 clay seal impressions have been excavated in the AK building; these impressions had been used to seal boxes, baskets, bags, and jars. Most of the sealed containers were in all likelihood sent from nearby farms and places of production to the AK building for storage and redistribution.[16] Inside the building the containers were opened and the clay of the sealing discarded onto the nearby floors. There was no attempt to gather them up for administrative purposes, as is the case in many other sites. For instance, in contemporaneous strata at nearby Tell Brak, probably ancient Nagar, two types of distributional patterns were found: deposits of sealings were both scattered

[16] Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, 1995-6. In what follows, I will use the abbreviations given in this article, where q stands for the queen's seals, k for the king's, and h for members of the household. The seal impressions from the AK building are all broken and very small. The designs had to be reconstructed from many fragments. The same is true for the identification of the types of containers they sealed.

across floors and found discarded in groups.[17] A number of the Urkesh seal impressions are inscribed, giving us the name of the ruling dynasts and courtiers associated with them (Fig. 1). The majority of the seal impressions were made by seals which were not inscribed; however, some have stylistic and iconographic elements which connect them to the inscribed seals. The Urkesh corpus of seal impressions is also supplemented by a few cylinder seals excavated in the building.

In the inscribed corpus the greatest number of impressions belong to the queen and the royal courtiers specifically connected with her. Out of some 170 inscribed seals, 72 of the identifiable containers were sealed with the queen's seals while 28 containers were sealed by authority of the queen's nurse, Zamena. The queen's chief cook sealed 27 containers and the seals of Innin Shadu, a courtier who does not have a title in his seal inscription, sealed 26 containers (Ill. 8). Since we are still excavating what we are calling the Royal Building AK, the numbers will change, but the proportions found in this section of the building appear to suggest that the queen's administrators utilized these areas for storage and redistribution of goods under their control.

The Seal Cutting Workshop of the Queen

One of the seal-cutting workshops that can be isolated in the stratified seal impressions found in the AK building is associated with the queen, Uqnitum. All her seals were carved in this workshop, as well as the seals of two courtiers directly connected through their inscriptions with her, the nurse, Zamena, and her female cook whose name unfortunately is too worn to read. A number of uninscribed seals can be associated with this workshop through their iconography and stylistic characteristics. The products of this workshop, as well as those of the workshop associated with the seals of the king, are notable for the innovation in the basic themes carved on the seals. This is true in the themes concerning the dynastic program carried forward by motifs on these seals, in the symbols utilized connected with the power and prestige of the dynasts. New or rare figures could also be placed under the seal inscription; see for instance the boar in q3 (Ill. 17).

[17] David and Joan Oates, "The Akkadian Administrative Buildings at Tell Brak," Iraq 51 (1989) pp. 193-211; "Excavations at Tell Brak 1990-91," *Iraq* 53 (1991), pp. 127-145. Joan Oates, "An Akkadian Administrative Device from Tell Brak," in M. Frangipane et al., Eds. *Between the Rivers and Over the Mountains* (1993) pp. 289-305. See also R. J. Matthews, W. Matthews, and H. McDonald, "Excavations at Tell Brak, 1994," *Iraq* 56, (1994) pp. 177-194.

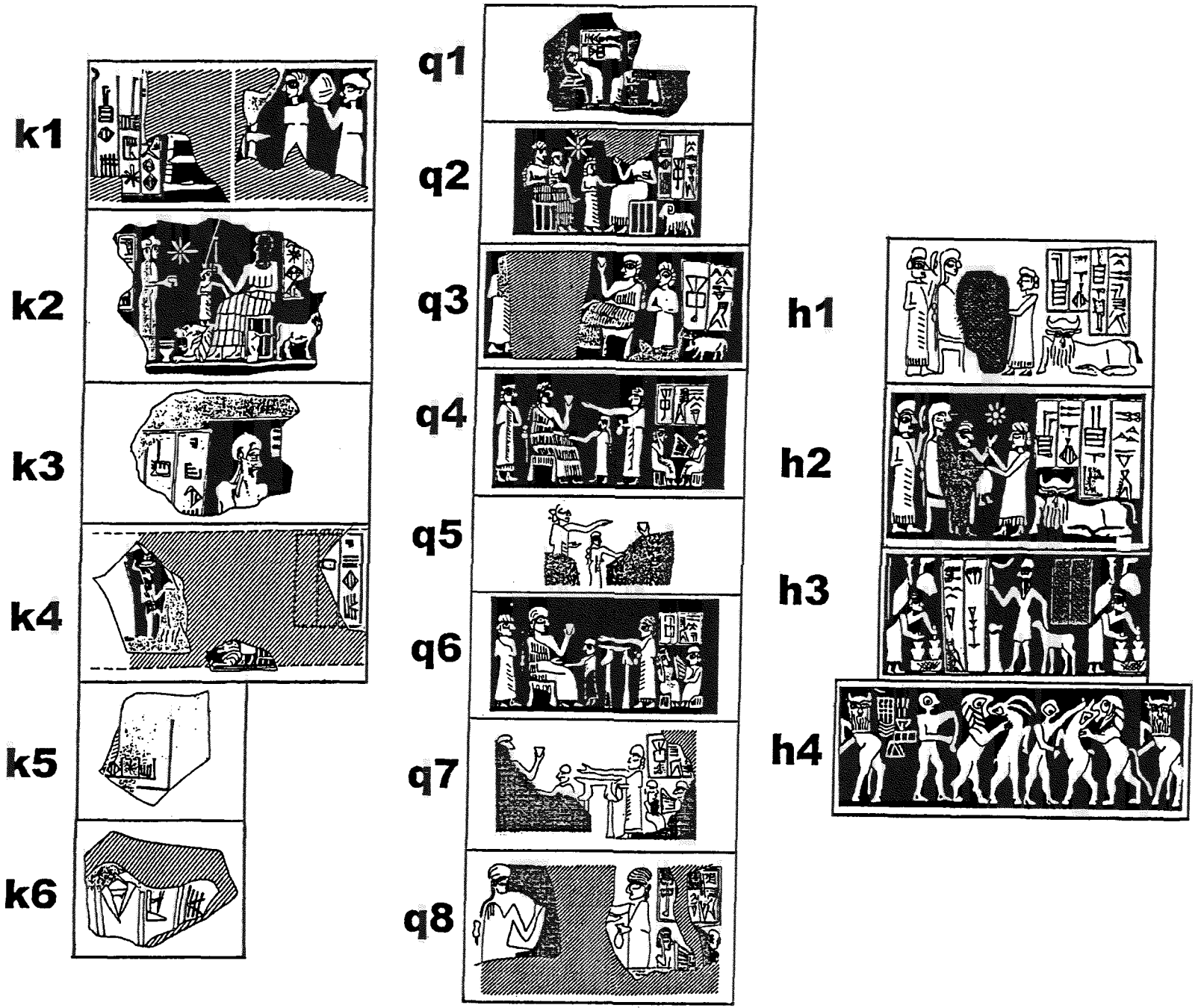


Fig. 1. Inscribed seals of the king (k), the queen (q) and the royal household (h).

The inscribed seals produced by the queen's workshop all exhibit the major theme of dynastic succession, including images which emphasize and enhance her prominence. Typical of this program is the scene showing both rulers and their children found on one seal of the queen (q2). The other scenes of the queen all connect a rendering of the queen herself with her children (q3-8).[18] Therefore all of the inscribed seals carved in this workshop depict various groupings of the royal family. All these figures are portrayed with an emphasis on intimacy among family members. The intimate relationships are expressed through gestures that suggest touching shown by both the son and daughter who touch the lap of the queen and the king (Ill. 9-10).

The queen's nurse Zamena uses the same gesture while holding the wrist of a small child sitting on the lap of the queen.[19] The sense of intimacy can be further noticed in the two seals of Zamena. In them the queen is shown wearing the same dress, a fringed garment, that her nurse Zamena and her other attendants wear; in her own seals Uqnitum wears the more regal pleated garment. The intimate relationship was mirrored in the seal inscriptions of both Zamena and the female cook of the queen. These two inscriptions identify the cook and the nurse by saying that they are servants of Uqnitum without, however, specifying her royal title. In contrast the titles of NIN and DAM are clearly indicated on the seals belonging to Uqnitum. Small details help to create this familial atmosphere and connection on the seals, for instance the queen and her daughter both wear their hair long and in braids decorated with the same shape braid ornaments (Ill. 10).

Formal relationships are expressed in part through size. The children certainly are all depicted as small, but the nurse Zamena is also smaller on her own seals even though the servant standing behind Uqnitum is shown with her head at the same height as the seated queen (h1-2). Therefore a certain hierarchical scale is preserved in these seals which may reflect the relative importance of the various figures. If this is indeed the case, then the butcher would be a more important figure than the assistant cook depicted

[18] q1 is not sufficiently preserved to determine the main theme of the iconography.

[19] An inscribed stone bowl from Ur depicts a goddess holding a seated child placed sideways on her lap. A small figure appears to be touching the lap of this goddess. The bowl is dated to the Ur III period. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations: IV, The Early Periods* (1956), p. 52 and Pl. 36:U232. I am very grateful to J. V. Canby for this reference. In Akkadian and Ur III presentation scenes the presenting deity, when standing between the main deity and the worshiper, holds the worshiper by the wrist. The position of the arm held back and the elbow raised, reflects the emphasis on gestures, at times awkward in their execution, both in these seals and in the Urkesh seals carved in the queen's workshop.

on the cook's seal. Another aspect of the formal relationships shown in the seals carved in this workshop is the seated position of the royal couple. They are the only important figures to sit in these scenes; all other figures stand.[20] This is the usual position for the figures of the deities and the king on later third millennium Mesopotamian seals. In some Early Dynastic and Akkadian banquet scenes an attendant may be greeting the seated figures; however attendants are shown with their heads at the same height as the banqueteers.[21]

A second theme, or in this instance perhaps a sub-text, is that of working. In the case of the products of this workshop the theme of working also contributes to the fundamental message of power and dynastic succession which the queen projects. The two seals of Zamena show her holding by the wrist a royal child, seated on the lap of Uqnitum, as would be appropriate for the royal nurse. The cook of Uqnitum has depicted on her seal a butcher and a woman churning. One of the queen's seals, q1, is incompletely preserved. It shows two servants bending, one obviously making something in a large basket while the opposite bending figure is engaged in an activity which is unclear.

The working theme connects the inscribed seals of the queen and her servants to others in the corpus which are not inscribed. From the same workshop came seals portraying a number of different craft activities. One, for instance, shows pottery-making (A1.364), with the potter kneeling in front of a jar placed on a stand.[22] Two other jars placed on stands are sitting above. The larger standing figure wears a fringed garment and soft hat characteristic of other scenes from this workshop; for instance the soft hat is similar to those worn in the banquet scene (Ill. 14), A5.91.[23]

Yet another characteristic of some of the seals carved in this workshop is the placement of the inscription. In q1 the inscription box is being held up, on the backs, as it were, of the two working servants. These two figures are not the same size, so the box

[20] In the seals belonging to the queen, q4,6-8, two seated figures are placed under her inscription. Since they can be identified as a singer and a lyre player, they are obviously not major figures. In q2 a small child sits on the lap of the queen. None of these three seated figures are major elements within the overall scheme of the queen's seals but all contribute to the image of power which she projects.

[21] Pierre Amiet, *La Glyptique Mesopotamienne Archaique*, 1961, Pl. 83:1105-7; Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 1948, Nos. 250-252.

[22] Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, 1995-6, Fig. 9:c.

[23] Idem, pp. 24-26.

is not symmetrically placed above them, as is the case of the placement of the inscription box of the other seven seals of the queen. It may be that the box, or the bending figure on the left, were added after the rest of the composition was started.[24] The message of this image pertaining to the power and prestige of the queen is clearly articulated here as it is in the cook's seal. The cook's seal has the main inscription box, naming her as the female cook of Uqnitum, placed between the two kitchen functionaries engaged in appropriate food preparation activities, the woman churning while the butcher is shown with a small animal. Both are engaged in these activities while facing the inscription box, which contains the name of Uqnitum. This last point is an indication of the various and sometimes subtle ways the dynastic message is communicated. The smaller inscription box, which probably contained the personal name of the female cook, is carved above the small animal of the butcher and the bent back of the woman. In this case too the box is parallel to the other box, but the figures below are uneven in size and placement, in an arrangement reminiscent of q1, above. In the seals of Zamena the inscription box is shortened to accommodate the head of the human-headed bull (Ills. 11 and 12).

Body proportions and hand and arm gestures also reflect the royal intent. In general heads carved in this workshop are large in proportion to the rest of the body (Ill. 13). Hand gestures are prominent conveyors of the royal message. Where needed, the gestures could be further emphasized. So, for instance, in q4-7 both the royal daughter and the attendant behind this girl have elongated arms extended toward or touching the queen. In the case of the seal of the cook, both the butcher and the woman churning have exaggerated shoulders and elbow positions (see also the exaggerated touching gestures the crown prince in K2, who has facial features similar to those on the queen's seals), emphasizing their particular activities (Ill. 15). The large noses and emphasis on the eye combined with the other exaggerated physical attributes give an expressionistic feeling to the output of this workshop.

The products of this workshop are distinctive in the area of style as well. The carving is characterized by fully modeled figures with little interior differentiation typical of the carving in the ED III period in the south. The noses and ankles are essentially triangular in shape with several ellipses enclosing the eyes. A stylistic characteristic, which was striking from the very first in these impressions, is the deep carving of the pleats and the fringe of the garments. This is clearer in some rollings than others, but in the queen's

[24] The placement of the inscription and the box are unusual in that both run horizontally, see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, 1995-6, pp. 14-16.

seals where she is seated on a stool wearing a pleated garment (q2, 3, 4, 6), the pleats curving under her as she sits on the stool are deeply carved. In the field, when I was trying to make sense of all the fragments of sealings from the excavations, I could easily recognize this characteristic in the various sealings and called it the "Deep Fringe" style. The depth of the fringe and especially the pleats curving under the seated figure contribute to a sense of movement and rhythm, especially as the deep shadows of the pleats and the fringe are in contrast to the smooth undifferentiated aspects of the clothing or the chair seat. The deep carving is also evident in the detailed rendering of the coat of the ram placed under the inscription in q2 and in the obvious spikiness of the upright hair along the spine of the boar in q3 (Ill. 17).

This aspect of the carving style is clearly found in the uninscribed seals carved in this workshop. So, for instance, in the banquet scene (A5.115), where the floppy hat is similar, but not identical, to the hat of the large standing figure in the seal with the pottery-making motif (A1.364), we see the same emphasis on the carving of the pleats as they curve under the seated figure (Ill. 14). Some animal combat scenes are also carved in this style.

The overriding emphasis on the secular concerns of projecting images of power and the dynastic succession appears to overshadow any reference to divine help or approbation. One iconographic aspect of the queen's seals, which could refer to the divine, is the star delicately carved in the field in q2, h2, and found also in k2. In the queen's seal, q2, and also in k2, the crown prince is shown paying homage to his father. Zamena's seal, h1, shows a small child seated on the lap of the queen with a star between the two. It may be that the star had a dual function, that of signifying a royal successor and also divine approbation.[25] The human-headed bull in h1-2 and h4 could also be a symbol of Shamash (Ills. 11-12). However, given the absence of evidence indicating an intended symbolism, the significance remains unclear.

The King's Workshop

In the inscribed corpus of seals belonging to the king, the impressions are far fewer than those of the queen. Only eleven impressions have been found for the king,

[25] In this regard too it should be remembered that Near Eastern monarchs sometimes called themselves children of the gods; see J. V. Canby, "The Child in Hittite Iconography," in *Ancient Anatolia, Aspects of Change and Cultural Development: Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, J. Vorys Canby, et al., Eds. 1986, pp. 54-69.

belonging to five of his seals. As a result, the composite renderings are much less complete than those of the queen. However, some conclusions can be drawn as to the output of the workshop in which his seals were carved.[26] A number of characteristics clearly connect the two workshops. This is especially true in the fundamental aspect of the subject of the dynastic program. It is equally true in the many new iconographic motifs invented for this Urkesh dynasty and unknown previous to our excavations at Urkesh. In both workshops the concern for the placement of the king and queen in scenes emphasizing their power and prestige is very evident. In the case of the king's seals, reclining lions are found on two seals (k2, 4) (Ill. 2 and *PDS* 2.14). In one well preserved example, a lion is strikingly placed at the foot of the throne of the king (k2). This lion is even more emphasized since the position of the crown prince touching the lap of his father makes him appear visually to be standing on top of the head of the lion. The naturalism of the figure, plus the fact that a standing figure pours a liquid that falls toward the lion's trough, suggests that this is the representation of a live animal and not a statue.

The dynastic program is clearly referred to in k2 where the intimate touching gesture is found along with the exaggerated elbow position. The significance of the crown prince touching the lap of his father is clear, as it is on the queen's seals. Another striking innovation is the motif of the ball of thread held in the hand of one of the king's attendants (k1). In this seal, too, the heads of the attendants are similarly large, with the hat of the figure on the right reflecting hats worn in the seals carved in the queen's workshop. But this seal of the king is a good example of the differences between the two workshops also. The figure on the right has poised on the palm of his outstretched hand what appears to be thread[27] (Ill. 16 and *PDS* 2.15). Striking, too, is the balance of design elements with the ball being an inverted reflection of the basic shape of the heads on either side of it. Even before the inscription was read in the field, it was clear that an artist with an unusual sense of design had carved this. The best preserved of the

[26] Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1996. For third millennium symbols of prestige, see Susan M. Pollock, *The Symbolism of Prestige: An Archaeological Example from the Royal Cemetery of Ur*, PhD diss. Michigan 1983.

[27] See an Achaemenid example of the offering of yarn by the Twelfth Delegation of the Apadana reliefs. While the shape of the ball of yarn is different in the Urkesh example, in both the lightness of the weight is emphasized by the placement on the outstretched palm. See G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann (1966), pp. 86-88. I wish to thank Erika Bleibtreu for suggesting this parallel.

king's seals, k2, shows a finer rendering of the figures, especially the profile of the figure preserved on the left. It is this emphasis on harmony and balance, combined with the quality of the carving, that differentiates the products of the king's workshop from those of the queen.

Conclusion

It is difficult to determine how many seal carvers would have been working for the Urkesh dynasts and their courtiers. Given the evidence for the queen's workshop, it appears that the inscribed seals could have been produced by a single seal carver and the non-inscribed seals by one or more additional carvers. With the number of seals and seal impressions increasing with every new season of excavation, it may be that in the future we will be able to isolate the seals carved by single individuals.

In any discussion of the royal workshops of Urkesh the question of the role of the patron must be raised.[28] This question is ultimately connected with the problem of who constituted the audience for the glyptic of the dynastic program and the power of these images on the intended audience, questions that will not be taken up here. In the case of the artists employed in the two glyptic workshops identified above it is important to note that aspects of their work can be attributed to their artistic training as members of a craft-oriented profession. In other words, they would have brought to their work in Urkesh an impressive knowledge of seal carving styles and techniques prevalent in Syro-Mesopotamia, both those of their contemporaries and those preceding them.[29] The fact that certain elements of their figural style and technique resemble those of ED III and early Akkadian in Mesopotamia should not surprise us.

At the same time it is clear that this artistic heritage was not determinant. The specificity of the message of the dynastic program and the fact that such a focus is new to ancient Near Eastern art, at least as conveyed here, lead us to postulate a significant role for the patrons, Uqnitum and Tupkish (and perhaps the nurse Zamena) in the formulation of this program. The fact, too, that so many other aspects of the art of

[28] For an analysis of the role of the patron in Achaemenid art see M. C. Root, "Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis," in Ann C. Gunter, Ed. *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (1990), pp. 115-139.

[29] See in this regard M. B. Garrison, "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), pp. 1-20.

Urkesh are new and unprecedented indicates a significant creative aspect within its artistic circles.[30] In other words, the artistic climate within some Urkesh workshops stimulated innovative thinking[31] on the part of both artists and patrons. The unity of the program and the infused message in the seals of both the queen and the king is striking. The detail to which the artists went to convey the dynastic message is also impressive and must reflect the very real concerns of the patrons. The official ideology as expressed through their seal designs must have been formulated by the patrons in conjunction with the artists in their workshops. Given the coherence of the program it would not be surprising to discover, in our continuing excavations at Urkesh, an expression of these same concerns in other artistic monuments made in the city. Evidence for this type of creativity and intense collaboration is otherwise rare in the ancient Near East.

[30] This is also seen earlier on the seal impressions excavated in the K1 burnt deposit. See *Mozan 1*, pp. 67-80.

[31] In terms of the alternative proposed by J.-M. Durand, "L'insertion...," in Barrelet 1977 (cited above, n. 11), between "originality at the source" (originalité primitive) or "at least a de facto particularism," the balance would seem to swing towards the former.

4

3-D Rendering and Animation at Tell Mozan/Urkesh

Federico Buccellati

St. John's College, Annapolis

Archaeological fieldwork can be divided into two major categories: the stratigraphic and the typological. The advent of computers has provided almost every aspect of our lives with new tools to help us improve the efficiency and quality of what we do. Archaeology is no exception: from calculators to advanced graphics applications, computers affect both the stratigraphic and the typological aspects, and yet they remain mere tools for our use. Therefore, the product of our labors is still founded on the data that we collect, and, even more powerfully, on our analysis of those data. The goal of this article is to focus on a very specific application of computers to archaeological work: the analysis of architectural space.[1]

Background

The incorporation of graphics with our work at Mozan has been a part of our project from the very beginning, and actually had its origins in the graphics work done at Terqa. Initially, the aim of the graphics project was to create drawings from sets of measured coordinates. As far back as 1982, the expedition was using the simplest of computers:

[1] It is important to note that while I have developed the 3-D aspect of digital graphics personally, the graphics program as an integrated toolbox for the archaeologist has been possible at Terqa and Mozan because of G. Buccellati's foresight as to the potential of computers and his encouragement in their implementation.

the Tandy 100, and a one-pen plotter.[2] Ever since then, the scope of our graphics work has grown with the technological advances and new software available. An important consideration has always been the element of cost, since we wanted to have computers available not only at home but also in the field, where it can truly affect our day-to-day strategy.

There have been two main approaches to the work on computer graphics at Mozan, one analytical and one analogical. The analytical approach reflects the initial goal of the program back in 1982: the ability to represent the stratigraphy from sets of coordinates. This has been primarily tied to the CAD (Computer Aided Design) applications, and is very useful because of its accuracy and impartiality. Since the measurements in the field are done mechanically with no sense of the data as a whole structure, there is no element of "aesthetic correction" when the data are transformed into a drawing by the computer.[3] The analogical approach has come more recently, and has as its goal the graphical representation of the stratigraphy as an understood whole. In this approach, the concept of the totality of the whole is essential, and it is always with this whole in mind that one produces the data. This is the converse of the analytical, because the graphics represent the understanding of the structure as a whole, something that transcends the features that we find in the ground.

The first step we took in using the computer as a tool was to modify the existing system (the one begun in 1982) to fit a commercial CAD program. In essence, the programs, as they were written by G. Buccellati for the Tandy 100, performed the basic functions of a CAD package, but to be able to take advantage of new technologies we needed to format the data that we were already producing to fit the format of a standard program. The CAD applications are the main programs employed in the analytical approach of the graphics program. The following steps all represent aspects of the analogical approach.

The second step we took (in 1996) was to add to our permanent facilities in the field a high-end flatbed scanner and PhotoShop 4.0. These two components enabled us to enhance and study either photographs that we had taken in the field of the stratigraphy,

[2] See Giorgio Buccellati in G. Buccellati and O. Rouault, *Digital Plotting of Archaeological Floor Plans*. Terqa Preliminary Reports, No. 12 (Malibu: Undena 1983) pp. 4-6. A popular article on our system, written by a member of the Terqa staff, was featured as the cover story on a computer magazine: Daniela Buia Quinn, "Archaeologists Trade Fedora and Leather for 100," *Portable 100: The Magazine for Model 100 Users*, October 1984, pp. 43-47.

[3] Buccellati, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

or photographs that we had taken of objects in the laboratory. This capability was especially useful for the field photographs (overhead photographs, for example) in that we were able to digitally highlight certain aspects of the photos, and draw projections or clarifications on them. The laboratory photographs also benefited from the use of the Zoom and Sharpen tools, which allowed us to better define very small objects of which we have hundreds.

The third step, begun in 1997, was to move from the digital images to digital illustrations, primarily using Freehand 7.0. Digital illustration is very different from digital imaging because it creates pictures using point and line structure, rather than pixel structure. Digital images are composed of millions of dots that have codes attached to each one of them. These linked codes (the pixels) describe the color and the sharpness of that particular point; this can be a drawback if your image is simple but large, because a large number of points (or pixels) are used even though they are all the same. Digital illustrations, on the other hand, create lines described by the two endpoints; this means that, compared to a digital image, much less space is needed. Instead of giving a code that corresponds to black for each of the points along the line from A to B, one code is given at A telling the program to go to B with a black line. This is also the case for areas, where a digital image would code a pixel for every point in the area, while a digital illustration would merely code the whole by defining the outer boundary and the color of the inside.

The move into digital illustration allowed us to retrace the drawings of objects in the field and create architectural plans that we did not want to do with the CAD program. The drawings were then in the computer as files, and could be linked to the objects when they were referred to in the Journal portion of what we call the Urkesh Global Record, which is the totally integrated database of all the documentation for the site. The architectural plans were easy to print and manipulate as our understanding of the buildings changed; this was not possible with plans based on a digital image because each pixel had to be changed, making the process prohibitively time consuming.

What I am presenting here is the work done so far on the fourth step of our graphics program, 3-D graphics. In point of fact, 3-D projections, as analogical representation, had been incorporated in our studies of Mozan for almost as long as the CAD drawings, their analytical counterparts. As far back as the *Mozan 1* volume there is a chapter (done in association with the architecture department at UCLA) involving a 3-D reconstruction

of temple BA.[4] We began both the CAD and the 3-D at such an early stage (1984) because they are two aspects of graphics that only a computer can accomplish. It must be noted that the pertinent chapter in *Mozan 1* was already introducing a system geared toward reconstructing alternative three-dimensional projections of buildings based on their architectural footprints. Its usefulness was limited, however, by the fact that it was available only on mini-computers, and thus not on a day-to-day basis during our work in the field.

Concerning the CAD, only a computer can draw a map based on coordinates without changing them; a human architect, even if just subconsciously, perfects the drawing, and this is the "aesthetic correction." With regard to 3-D renderings, only a computer can construct a model of a building and display the exact same building from any angle. This is the essence of what "virtual reality" predominantly means: the virtual co-presence of all fields of vision from any point of view.

My work with 3-D graphics began with a documentary film produced for television[5] on our excavations at Mozan, specifically the AK building. Some 3-D animated walk-throughs were needed to give shape to the structure as we had reconstructed it. A decision was made against contracting the animation to an outside firm in favor of having one of the expedition members produce the necessary sequences, as well as specific individual images. A reason for this was to maintain as much interaction as possible between the technical and the archaeological dimensions, and especially to develop tools that could continue being used interactively in the field. Now that technology has advanced enough to allow us to bring the capability to the field, we can build 3-D models of what the buildings might have been like in antiquity, and use these models as tools in defining our excavation strategies on a daily basis as called for by the field situation.

How 3-D Models are Created

The computer builds 3-D images by combining and modifying simple solid shapes; this allows us to create a "virtual" 3-D model of the excavations in the computer. Once

[4] Giorgio Buccellati and Andrea M. Parker, "Computer applications," *Mozan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 20 (Malibu: Undena 1988), pp. 100-104.

[5] This documentary is being produced for the *Televisione Svizzera Italiana* by Loris Fedele of TSI and Rick Hauser of Beyond Broadcast; the director is Rick Hauser. The project is a collaboration with IIMAS - The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies, under the direction of Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati.

the computer has created the model, a camera can be positioned at any angle within the program to create a corresponding picture of the model. This is much like building a model from wood and then taking slides of it to use for a presentation. There are, however, many obvious advantages to using the computer. The most important one is that we are able to modify the model quite quickly. This is critical in the field where, in order to use the model as a tool in shaping excavation strategy, we need to change and adapt the model as both our understanding and progress in the field change.

The ability to create in the 3-D model the projections we envision allows us to examine the excavations in a way that no 2-D representation can. Descartes suggests that while the human mind can imagine a triangle or a pentagon, it cannot imagine a chiliagon (1,000 sided figure).[6] When archaeologists see a floor plan, they try to imagine the building in space. But if the mind cannot create a complex 2-D figure, how can it even imagine a highly complex 3-D figure? A computer model helps the viewer see the building in three dimensions through images of the virtual model, or, even better, through an animation. In this way the viewer does not have to create the 3-D building in the imagination, but has only to assemble the building from the images produced by the computer. (I will come back to this in the section on Animation.)

A 2-D representation with hypothesized walls is used to project excavation areas that will prove or disprove the hypothesis presented in the drawing. A 3-D plan, above and beyond that, allows us to have a spatial visualization and an interactivity that the 2-D plan does not. It is possible to begin with a 3-D model of the excavated area, add the unexcavated tell around the excavated area, and then place hypothetical walls inside the unexcavated portion. When the whole is displayed, not only is the excavated area shown, but through the semi-transparent tell surface the hypothetical walls can also be seen.

After the object is created, any perspective is possible, showing the hypothetical walls from floor level within the already excavated portions, allowing us to see the rest of the projected building through sections that are now semi-translucent. We can also reveal the projections between two units that are not contiguous, not only in two dimensions, but also in a third. All of the projections can be changed or shown as excavated very quickly, preserving even all the same camera angles, allowing us to compare old projections with what has been discovered.

[6] René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch, Eds. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984) paragraph 72.

The object that we have created is now "virtually" real. It exists not in space the way a building does, but it exists as an analogy of a building. This analogy allows us to change the point of view and field of view however and whenever we want. A good example is a musical compact disk as compared to a live concert: at the concert there is a depth and an ambiance that the compact disk cannot recreate, but the disk has portability and accessibility (one can listen at will and isolate individual segments as desired). The comparison suggests one more point in favor of 3-D models: while the stereo channels in a musical disk are limited, so one cannot isolate individual instruments, a virtual reality 3-D model allows inspection of even the most hidden corner. The virtual model is very convenient because it can be modified spatially and studied, whereas the physical building cannot. If a building had been destroyed, it could be reconstructed again in virtual space, without ever damaging the excavation. What if it had a second story? That could be easily added, and in seeing the building with two stories in 3-D, the archaeologist might have a better idea of where to look for evidence of its existence. In this way, the virtual building can be what the real building was once (or a reconstruction that we can change as new evidence comes to light) but will never be again as a physical structure.

Animation

One of the drawbacks of the 3-D model is not in the model at all, but in our ability to perceive it. Let us first ask how the mind perceives space. Of course, the impressions of space must be tied to the impressions the mind gets from the senses. Since computer animation deals only with sight, I will leave aside the impressions from the other senses. The question then is: what are the impressions that the eyes give to the mind, and how does the mind then create an idea of space from them? First, humans have stereoscopic vision (i.e., two eyes), which gives the mind two two-dimensional perspectives on the same object simultaneously.[7] Stereoscopic vision allows the mind to compare the data separately from each eye and, through the subtle differences in angle, determine how far away an object is. This works well up to a point, but human eyes are so close together that after a certain distance the difference in not discernible. The second method is

[7] The idea that each eye sees only a two-dimensional image goes back as far as Aristotle, who, in the *De Anima* (419a), suggests that objects press on the air as a medium, and the air in turn presses on our eyes, creating a 2-D image.

actually a variation of the first, and is the principle behind 3-D animation. As one moves in relation to an object, the mind remembers the previous impressions given by the eyes, and takes note of the changes between the impressions that were created over time. The movement of the person creates the differences in the impressions, and this change in position is analogous to the distance between the two eyes of the person.

What are these differences that the mind discerns in the sequence of images presented to it, either through the eyes at a moment in time or through the movement of the head over a period of time? The differences that we perceive are the result of how the mind analyzes the input from the visual senses through geometry. The first difference is based on light. When we see a tree that casts a shadow, we can estimate how tall the tree is, since we sense where the light is coming from, and know other objects that cast shadows in the sunlight, and so by comparison one knows the tree's height. The second difference is based on distance. The farther an object is, the smaller it seems in comparison to its actual size. This is the principle behind perspective in art: as an object recedes into the picture, it must shrink relative to its actual size. The third difference is based on position. As one moves relative to an object (or the object moves) our movement causes us to see something different about an object. Based on the distance moved, one knows something about the size and position of the object through the differences in the sequence of images that the eyes created while in motion. Consider a building. You stand in front of the main doors, and all you can see is the façade: the building has no perceptible depth. Move to the corner of the building, and you can see down two sides, the façade and the new face that meets it at the corner. Now you can use the change in distance to see that the second face recedes. Now move a bit farther from the main doors, while still looking down the side of the building. The image changes based on your movement. This gives you an even better understanding of the depth of the building.

With all these data, the mind produces a model of the space an object occupies. This is what happens if you look at a real building or at a physical model of a building.[8] A computer, on the other hand, allows us to see only a screen, and our movement does nothing to enhance our understanding of the space that the model on the screen occupies.

What can a computer model do to surmount this problem of spatial recognition? While we do not normally use the computer to form physical objects, creating three dimensions

[8] To a certain degree, this idea of spatial recognition can already be found in such early thinkers as Descartes in the *Optics* (paragraph, 137-140).

in real space as a physical model can, we can create three dimensions as a projection over time, through animation. An animated sequence allows the computer modeler to give an audience the sense of three dimensions by aligning a variety of different points of view, simulating the motion of a person around an object. By "flying" around the model of a building, the human eye gets the same impressions it would if the person was walking around a physical model—the computer technician merely creates the model as a series of images over time, rather than as a body in space.

There are of course limitations to a computer model. One is that the viewer, because the model is temporally presented and not spatially, has no choice as to what to look at or for how long. This is a definite disadvantage, to be sure, but it can also be an advantage. Models are often confusing in their complexity, and, if accompanied by a speaker or a tape, the listener is never quite sure what part of the model the speaker is talking about. In computer animation, the preset motion of the camera can "point" to a specific area merely through the action of its motion. In a film, when the camera follows a person in a crowd from far away, we understand what the object of the shot is very quickly, because it is in the center of the screen throughout the movement of the camera. The same principle can be true for computer modeling: the camera can pick out a specific feature within all the architecture by placing it in the center of its motion.

The limitation just described applies to fixed-format sequences as found in a motion picture, because in this case the viewer cannot interact with the animation. The computer modeler, on the other hand, can stop and move back and forth over a sequence and study a particular portion. This is how we pick what views to show in the documentary, but it is also a valuable tool available on most computers. When the animations are viewed, the movie can be stopped at any time, and one can go back and forth frame by frame. An archaeologist in the field can use this to study a sequence to understand the connections between the pieces, and make projections as to what might be found nearby.

Borges "reports" a cartographic experiment whose aim it was to produce a map that was on a 1:1 scale, reproducing the surface of the earth exactly.[9] He meant it as an ironic joke, but with the computer this is no longer so far fetched or impractical. This is the second major benefit of using the computer: we can change the scale of the model. Not only can we see a building in relation to the rest of the site in an aerial view, but we can also walk through the building as if we were the archaeologist walking about.

[9] J.L. Borges and A.B. Casares, *Extraordinary Tales*, transl. A. Kerrigan, London: Souvenir Press, 1973, p. 123.

Analogously, "dynamic" maps can reproduce the landscape in a certain area, for instance in order to calculate the effects of dams on the region.[10]

Illustrations

In Fig. 1, some images are taken from "virtual" cameras in the 3-D modeling program. These stills show different views of the same model: the virtual reconstruction of royal building AK at Mozan/Urkesh (see above, Chapter 3; see also *PDS* 2.1-3).

Let me begin with the 2-D floor plan (see also *PDS* 2.1). Superimposed on the floor plan are arrows corresponding to the camera angles used to take the four views of the virtual model. With frozen images of the model it is important to have a floor plan to refer to for orientation; in animations, however, this is less critical. First of all, the motion of the camera gives the viewer a sense of direction, and secondly a floor plan can be simulated with a camera placed directly above the model looking straight down.

The first image is a view looking south along one of the main walls of the building. One can see the doorways that lead from the central corridor to Sectors A and B, as well as the mirror architecture reflected over the center wall that divides the two sectors.

The two images on the right-hand side of the first page (see also *PDS* 2.3) are two shots taken from the southeast with the same camera, but one with the projected walls and the second with the excavated portion surrounded by the tell surface. The juxtaposition of the two can be used to demonstrate many aspects of the building. First, it demonstrates the excavated area in proportion to the projected area. Also, the images give a sense of space that allows us to examine circulation patterns and function with more ease and greater understanding. The juxtaposition of the two allows us to demonstrate the transition from known to projected, in terms of circulation and function.

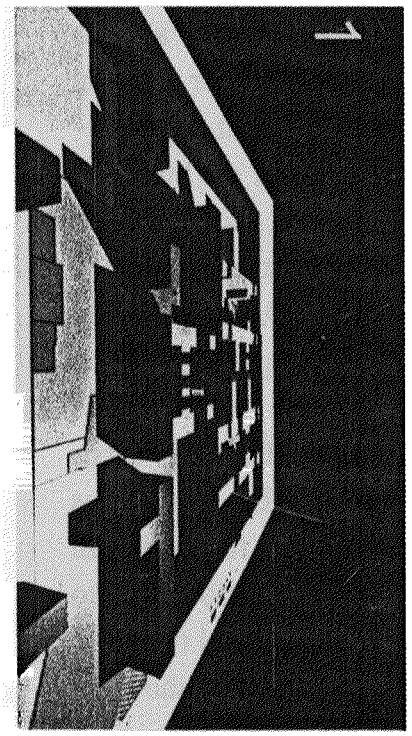
The two illustrations on the right side of the second page (Views 3a and b) show the same camera angle, but one is of the 3-D model and the other is of the actual excavation. Each illustration gives the reader a particular understanding that the other cannot. The digital image is an interpretation that allows the archaeologist to isolate and highlight the architectural elements that together make up the building. The photograph, on the other hand, is taken from a hydraulic platform at the site a week before the end of the excavations of the 1997 season. It shows the walls as they were found, and so is not an

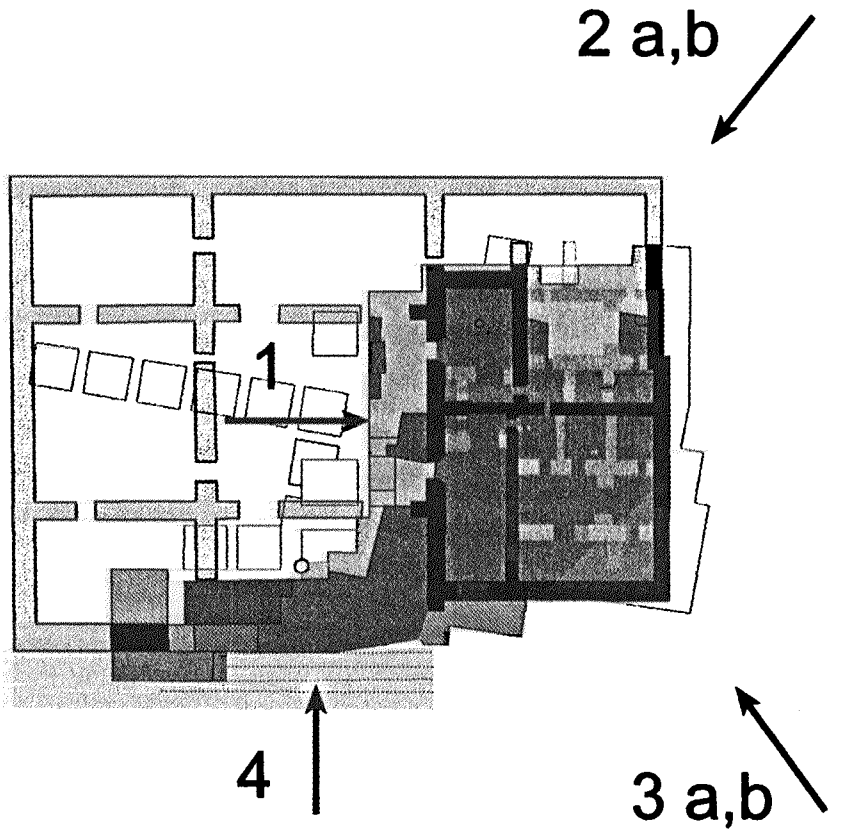
[10] John Noble Wilford, "Revolutions in Mapping," *National Geographic*, 193/2 (February 1998), pp.12-15.

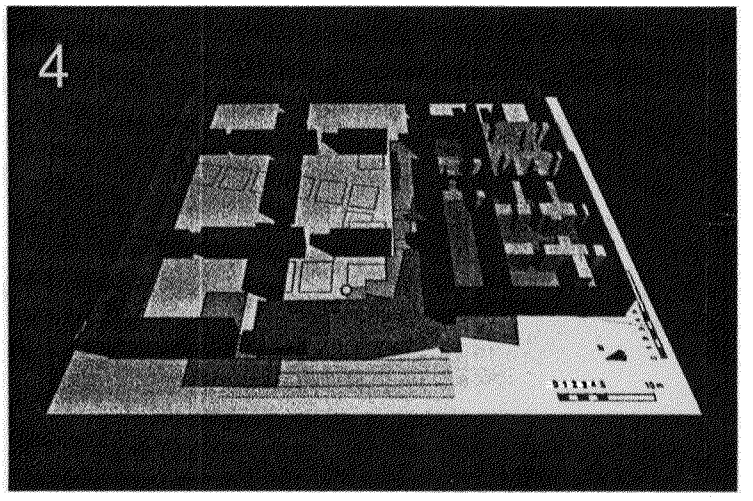
Fig. 1 A system of renderings organized to convey the concept of a 3-D model

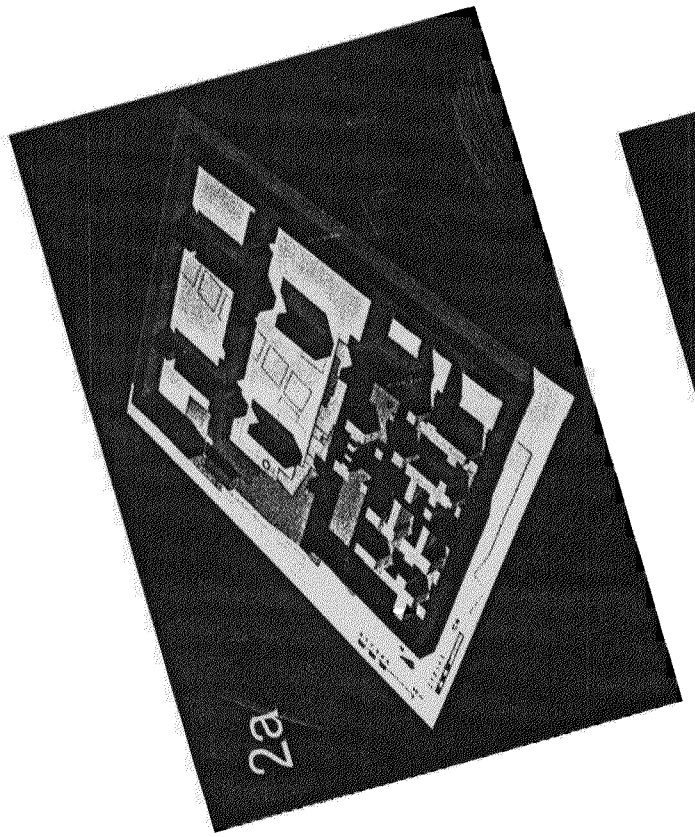
These illustrations are still images taken of a "virtual" 3-D model. Arrows on the floorplan show the orientation (in the X,Y plane) of each virtual camera that took the pictures, while the pictures themselves are positioned so as to be in the direction of the camera axis. The orientation in the Z plane varies in each view. The axial orientation shown on the floorplan helps imagine the layout of the building in three dimensions, if one considers the virtual photos as "windows" onto the 3-D model and the floorplan as another photo taken from directly overhead.

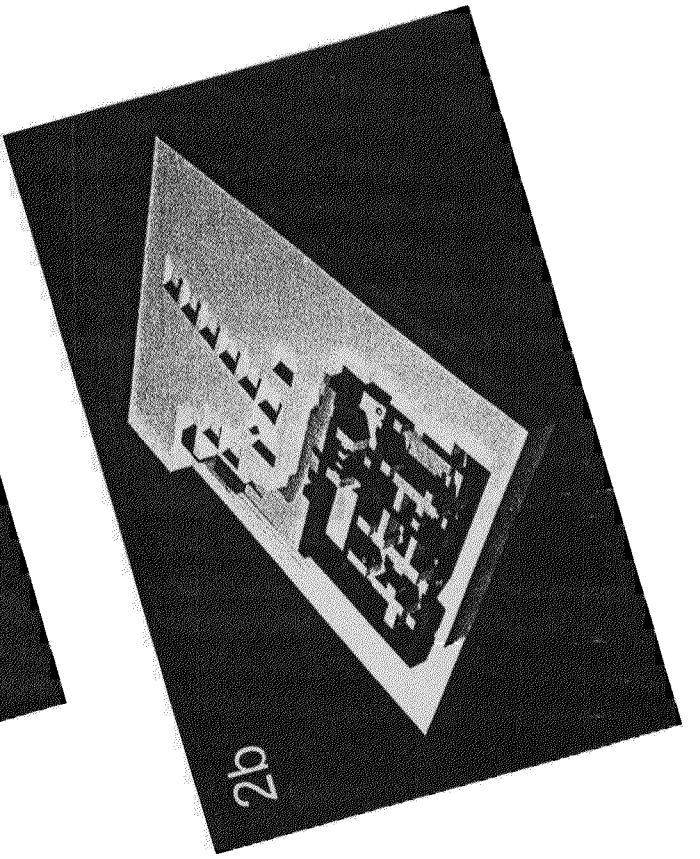
View 1 gives the impression of the size and the layout of the building, especially of the two "vaults" in the foreground. View 2a shows the building with the projected walls, while view 2b shows only the excavated part with the tell surface around it. Views 3a and 3b contrast the 3-D model with a photograph taken of the physical excavations. View 4 shows what the projected doorway looks like in relation to the service areas that have already been excavated and the projected sectors to the north and east.

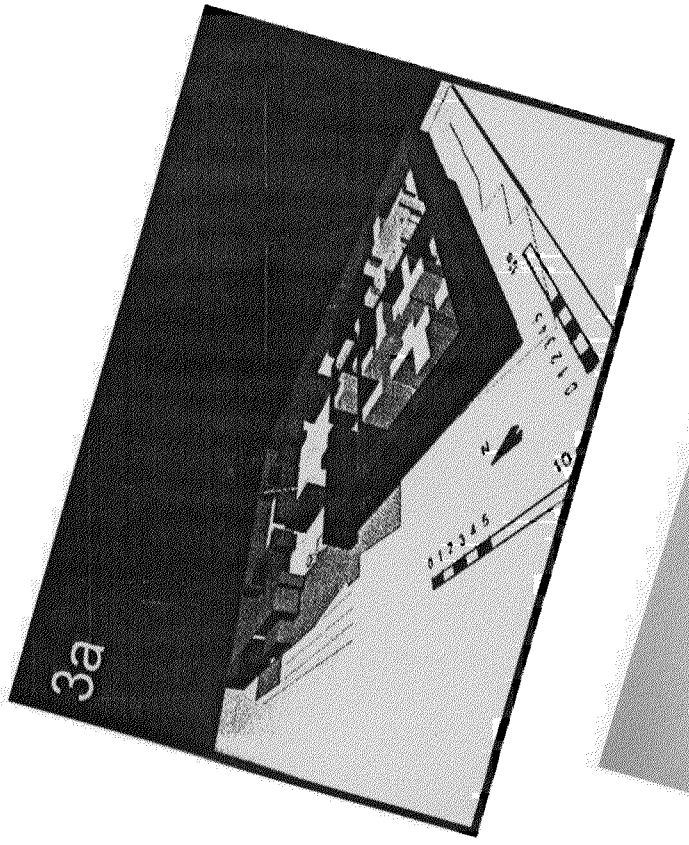







2a


2b


3a
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
10

interpretive illustration but a documentary one. Not only do the two illustrations allow the reader two different understandings, but each illustration helps the reader understand the other. The image helps to isolate the walls from other elements that may otherwise be difficult to distinguish, while the photograph shows what has actually been excavated and the material with which the walls were constructed.

The fourth view (see also *PDS* 2.2) shows how the virtual model can be used as a tool for excavation, not just presentation. This illustration is taken looking east, and shows the area that seems to be the main entrance to the AK building. The portion of the building that has the floors shaded and lighter internal walls is the excavated area, while the portion around it with the white floors and only the main sector walls is the current projection of the building.

5

The Equids of Urkesh: What the Figurines Say

Rick Hauser

IIMAS - The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies, St. Paul

To the Memory
of Sándor Bökönyi

In the royal "storeroom" and contiguous rooms belonging to the same stratum in Building AK at Tell Mozan/Urkesh, several hundred figurines and figurine fragments have been found within the earliest floor accumulations, dated to about 2200 B.C.[1] A preliminary typology has been established for animal and for humanoid clay figurines found in this Early Bronze deposition at Urkesh. Body shape and manufacture of the artifacts are diagnostic. Six body types have been established for animal figurines, according to genus: *Bos, Ovis, Canis, Felis* and other carnivores, *Capra* and *Equus*. As might be expected, signs of domestication are readily apparent for dogs and sheep. There are clear signs of domestication among the equids, as well.

[1] For a description of the stratigraphic setting, see Buccellati, 1997, pp. 77-96. For preliminary references to the corpus of Urkesh figurines, see my own contribution in the same article, Hauser 1997, p. 87 and Buccellati et al 1997. I have in preparation a comprehensive volume on all the figurines from the AK building, which will appear within the official reports of the Mozan/Urkesh Archæological Project. In this volume, I also discuss in detail the criteria for the attribution of zoomorphic specificity to the formal categories of the figurine corpus.

Background

There are more equids represented amongst the Urkesh figurines than any other *genus*.[2] The figurines are at once realistic and abstract; they may be anatomically accurate in detail and bear complex surface decoration or be summary (not at all to say "careless") in execution. A good number of the figurines must have been made with a living equid model in mind and all of them exhibit shared characteristics of an idealized typological model. The artisans who crafted these figurines "knew their animal" and took care to differentiate equids from other animals represented in the corpus.

Some exemplary material had already been recorded in the very first excavation season at Tell Mozan. M1.209 is a notable example.[3] The figurine is of burnt clay and it was found in the destruction layer in K1, feature 16, dating to the mid-third millennium, about two centuries before the assemblage from the Royal Building AK.

That there might be a physical and a gestural reality linked to the form of the figurines from the storeroom and throughout Urkesh became clearer in talks with Sándor Bökönyi during the 1993 excavation season (MZ8). This season would prove to be extraordinary with respect to the number of seal impressions that were found in the floor accumulation (labeled A1f113) in Sector B. As we were working exclusively in third millennium strata, the figurines that were excavated were of special significance for questions of domestication and specifically the taming of equids.

Bökönyi had written a classic reference work on domestication and how animals change when they are taken from the wild to live with man. He later observed that in the absence of a full skeletal record or written texts, "artistic representations" could help complete the archæological record. Together, Bökönyi and I reviewed a

[2] As of the end of the ninth season of excavation (1996), 73 "equids" had been entered in the catalog, including 10 figurines tentatively identified as equids and 1 example from Khabur levels (from unit A8). Some 270 figurines and figurine fragments had been entered in the typology, including humanoid figures. Finds not entered include miscellaneous objects (such as miniature domestic items), wheeled vehicles and wheels/geometric objects and those not identified. MZ10 increased the corpus by half again as many artifacts; these new finds will be entered in the catalog in study season MZ10A.

[3] Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, 1988, p. 81 and Ill. 1; see also Kelly-Buccellati, 1990, p. 124 and Plate 73. Another fifteen fragments of animal figurines, collected on the surface of the Outer City, are referenced on page 54, including M1.207, "a small horse with male genitals and faint incised lines on its mane." These figurines are not represented in the present typology; but will be studied in future seasons.

number of figurines recovered at Mozan, testing preliminary classification against our own observation. Clearly, there were differences in body shape that might represent different animals. In some cases, there were signs of domestication such as halters and tether-rings.

Although "not everyone was a great artist," as Bökönyi remarked lightly, there were similarities amongst the little figures that were found repeatedly. He never assumed that body-shape was accidental nor questioned that the artisans who made the figurines did not mean to model a given animal type. It was a fortunate circumstance that I was able to develop my overall animal typology with the benefit of a close daily contact with Bökönyi. He was particularly interested in the category of equids discussed in the present article. He looked forward to "some new kind of evaluation of the figurines because they are undoubtedly of key importance in early horse history in Southwest Asia." In the report of his season's work he wrote:

> In Tell Mozan,...horse bones...were found....(Only) a small number could be measured, nevertheless even the dimensions of the unmeasurable ones reveal the species identification in most cases (Bökönyi 1994b);

Whereas the figurines are stratified and firmly dated, horse bones taken by Bökönyi from among the faunal remains are few (0.26%) and up until the eighth season of excavation (1992), neither "found in a precisely datable layer (n)or in a closed-find assemblage." One also could not speculate as to whether or not these faunal remains were of domesticated horses.

Equus in the Figurine Typology

Three body types belonging to *equus* in the figurine corpus at Tell Mozan/Urkesh may be distinguished. In Fig. 1, the heavy outline corresponds to an idealized form which we[4] use to make a provisional identification of the figurine upon excavation. This outline is superposed on the sketch of an actual, representative figurine from the corpus (in this case, TYPE I, Z1.279 and TYPE II, A5.30.).

Measurements of body parts (labeled as w1/w2/w3 for forequarters/torso/ hindquarters and lg for length) bear an internal consistency, each to the others; and

[4] The line drawings accompanying this article are the work of my collaborator, graphic artist Claudia Wettstein, who also inked BH.383-2. A1q836-f and A5q815-f were drawn by Emmanuelle Besson, A1q960.8, A5q63-f and K3.16 were drawn and inked by Pietro Pozzi.

while not every ratio has been explored, a number of relationships have been observed to be constant.

Equus (genus)

w1 < w3	The forequarters are less wide than the hindquarters.
w2 < w1 < w3	The torso is less wide than either the forequarters or the hindquarters.
w1/w2/w3 ~/= 5:4:6	If the hindquarters are taken to be 6, then the forequarters will be about 5, the torso 4.
lg ≥ 2w3	Body-length is greater than or equal to twice the width of the hindquarters.
neck ≥ lg/2	The length of the body is a little less than twice as long as the neck.[5]

These ratios and proportions, somewhat idealized, serve to distinguish the equid body-type from other animal representations in the figurine corpus at Mozan. Some carnivores have a very similar body-type, but forequarters and hindquarters approach or can be equal to each other in width, and the torso is scarcely less wide than the forequarters (the constant is w2 ≤ 4/5w1).

It is important, too, to recognize that these ratios may or may not reflect observable relationships within the body structure of the actual animal (modern domesticated horses, for example, exhibit a range of body-types and characteristics[6]

[5] The length of the neck does not prove to be a differentiating factor in other animals in the figurine corpus (but see, in the limestone seal, A9.24, two horned animals with long necks and lean bodies). It is so, however, in the case of the equids, as the head and neck are usually long and thrust forward, out from the body. Obviously neck-length and appropriate ratios can only be determined if forequarters, neck and head of the equid are intact. The width of the equid neck is a little wider than half the width of the forequarters and somewhat smaller than the torso.

[6] Piggott is particularly amusing on the subject of horse-fanciers, who, he avers, create new horse families almost at the drop of a riding-crop.

and draft animals in particular may exhibit heavier hindquarters.[7] In this place and time, however, and in this corpus, we have chosen to identify animals with these characteristics as "equids."

In addition to the body ratios noted above, equids in the figurine corpus at Mozan may exhibit some and not infrequently all of the following characteristics:

1. Forequarters are solidly founded
2. Muzzle is rectangular in section, snout is frequently pinched and triangular in section
3. Angle of foreleg/body join is 120°
4. Neck is long and forward from body
5. Torso is lean
6. Buttocks are fused and sometimes recessed
7. Sexual parts are expressed

Other animals in the corpus may exhibit some of these characteristics, but not all and not all taken together.

In addition to *genus*, we are able to observe certain characteristics of domestication, changes in bodily structure resulting from morphological change brought about by isolation from the animal stock in the wild and selective breeding. We do not mean to say that such a change occurs over the short term of decades; rather, domesticated and non-domesticated species lived side-by-side and did exhibit different body-types. Following are signs of domestication in equid TYPES II and III:

1. Breast ridge is pronounced and does not continue into belly

The domesticated horse (equid TYPE III) also exhibits the following characteristics, observable as a third equid body-type in the figurine corpus:

2. Muzzle is narrow, eyes are widely-spaced and deeply recessed, ears are short
3. Mane is long

[7] That equids in the Urkesh figurine corpus have, as a general rule, heavier hindquarters may indicate the usage to which the domesticated animal was put. This remains to be investigated.

4. Mane rises onto head between ears
5. Tail is wide at the base

With non-domesticated equids (equid TYPE I), by contrast, we note that:

1. Forequarters are narrow
2. Muzzle is blunt or short
3. Mane is erect
4. Tail is tufted

This list of details has been assembled from two sources: 1) signs of animal domestication as documented in paleozoology and 2) the way Third Millennium observers represented the animal in clay at Tell Mozan/Urkesh. No one detail taken in isolation is diagnostic; and final identification is open to interpretation. In the main, however, these details are *indicators* that provide a basis for approaching the figurines and for seeing in them a key to one aspect of third millennium life.

This typology will be refined as more examples are excavated and as archæozoologists test the parameters given above as accurate indicators of four of the five species of the genus *equus*[8] and as archæologists relate the form of the small figures to life-ways of the past.

The Figurines

Some representative examples of the corpus have been assembled here to indicate both the range of material and some of the issues we have considered in cataloguing the equids. The complete catalog is under revision and will be published soon. Most of these eamples are from the Royal Building AK.

A1q836-f, equid, fragment: head (see Ill. 8)

This is one of several equid heads so simplified that I have identified them as

[8] The zebra did not live on the Syrian steppe. A possible relative, the "Otranto ass" (*Equus hydruntinus*), once did (Davis 1987, p. 33). The other species in the *genus* are the wild ass and onager (non-domesticated and domesticated hybrid) and the donkey (domesticated) and the horse (non-domesticated and domesticated).

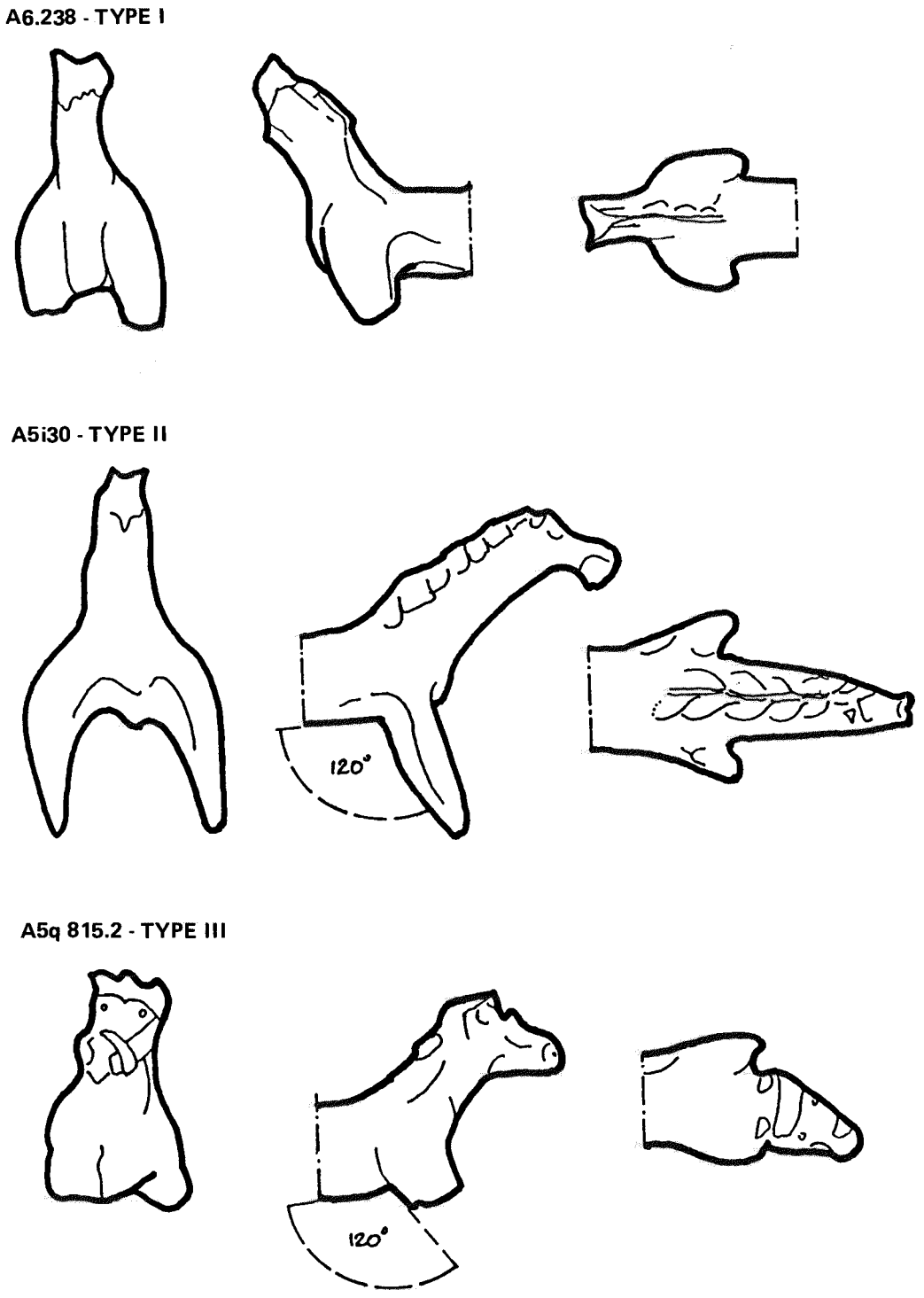


Fig. 1. Equus, Types I-III

"blanks." Whether they serve as a basic form for further elaboration remains to be substantiated. The musculature of the neck is indicated. The lower join of the head and neck is formed by the side of the finger. The muzzle is blunt. The mane is high between the eye-ridges, which are pushed up as a result of pinching the sides of the muzzle together and lifting the clay toward the back of the head. The head has been modeled as a rectangular block, then pinched from the sides to taper the muzzle (see fold on top of the muzzle). The medium is chaff-tempered.

A10.89 equid TYPE I, intact non-domesticated, onager or wild ass (see *PDS* 2.16)

Intact except for chipped left hind leg and slightly abraded right ear. Were nostrils originally open or has a layer of clay eroded from the top of the muzzle, opening the nostril incision far back into the muzzle? The ears are curved back and sharply pointed and are formed of two narrow pieces of clay, tapered and pulled; the join is incomplete at the top of the ear. There are light incisions along the rim, as a pelt. The muzzle is blunt and rectangular in section. There is no breast-ridge. Forelegs are solidly founded, but are thrust forward. The mane begins low down on the neck and is evenly notched; it is erect and comes up onto the muzzle. The tail is carried high and has been laid in as a separate piece of clay; the tail swells out at first, but then tapers to a point. The rump is flat on top and the hindquarters are solidly founded. Manufacture should be studied further, as some appendages may have been inserted as separate pieces of clay in deep incisions in the torso. There are strikes on the body, on the left flank low on the neck, at the left foreleg and in front of the left hind leg. Depositional damage?

A6.238 equid TYPE I (see Fig. 1; Ill. 1)

Analysis of figurine to be completed in the 1998 study season.

A5.30, equid TYPE II, domesticated, likely a horse (see Fig. 1; Ill. 2, *PDS* 2.17)

The stance of the animal is solidly founded ("four-square" as defined in the typology).[9] The legs are rectangular in section. There is a pronounced breast-ridge;

[9] In the interest of brevity, I have not discussed the typology in terms of stance. Also, the angle

the tail is rather thick. The mane falls on both sides of the neck, there are five ridges on the left side, incised with fingernail; the mane is equally pronounced on the right. The muzzle is pinched and triangular in section. The eye-ridges are pronounced; perhaps the right eye is applied. The mane rises onto the head. The belly is slightly convex. The hind-quarters are equal in width, yet heavier in mass than the fore-quarters. The buttocks are fused and recessed. There is an incised line along one side of a raised rounded area from the tail to the sexual parts. Manufacturing techniques include smoothing (torso, hind-quarters and neck) and pinching (mane and head). The detailing of the mane may indicate a horse, rather than a domesticated onager-ass hybrid; the tail also is broad at the base, not thin.

A5.10, equid TYPE II, domesticated equid, donkey or half-ass

The gestural reality of this figurine is notable: the animal thrusts its head up and out, as if braying. The signs of domestication are wide eye-ridges, a mane carried high onto the forehead between the eyes. The body is stocky (w1/w2/w3 = 1:1:1). A break at the muzzle may be at a perforation. Was this a tethering ring? The left fore- and right hind-quarters have been pinched so as to form a shallow trough down the middle of the leg; they are rectangular in section. The legs are "gracile," in Bökönyi's terms. There is a slight breast-ridge at the base of the neck. The buttocks are recessed and fused. There are fingerprints on the underbelly. The piece has been pinched into shape from a single piece of clay, with the exception of the eye-ridges, which have been applied. There is firing bloom on the hind-quarters. The ware is chaff-tempered and there is a straw impression in front of the left hind leg.

A5q815-f equid TYPE III, domesticated horse with harness, intact except for legs and part of harness (see Fig. 1; Ill. 3; *PDS* 2.18)

The harness is intact, save for one missing piece. The figurine has been scraped to model. The head is turned right, and the mane is as if "blowing in the wind" (Sándor Bökönyi's observation). A lively, realistic rendering. There are clear signs of domestication: there is a harness, the mane is high between the ears; there is a forelock. The breast-ridge is broken. The ears are held high. The taper of the muzzle

at which the forelegs join the torso of the animal has been categorized.

is marked; in section, the muzzle is a rectangle becoming a triangle at the snout. The eyes are lightly incised dots. The nostrils are raised. There is a perforation (broken) at the neck; a hole (0.3 cm) at the tail. The sexual organs are indicated.

A5q63-f equid TYPE III, domesticated horse, fragment: crown of head and neck with mane (see Ill. 7)

At first glance, it appears that this object—an equid—has a mane uniquely modeled by pinching and by the action of the tips of fingers which is left in the clay to indicate the long hairs of the mane. In fact, it appears that the mane of this figure was designed and manufactured in several stages. First the mane was modeled by pinching. Then, the mane was further modeled and given texture by the repeated application of a stick or knife. A final stage was "combing" with a tool uniquely suited to this action.

Contemporary potters still use small combs for decorating pottery; the instrument can be used, as here, on the left side of the mane, in long strokes; or it can be applied and lifted regularly to give a series of "lines" composed of multiple "hatchings," as on the right side of this figure (the animal's left and right).

Note the high mane between the ears, coming onto the forehead, and prominent (deep) eye-ridges; eight scalloped ridges on left possibly represent a long mane for rider's mount. Compare with the other side which is smoothed with repeated impressions of fingers, but not scalloped. The ears are carried back; they are applied to, not modeled from the head. Deep eye-ridges are pushed up and back with fingers from the clay mass of the head. The muzzle is triangular in section.

K3.16, equid TYPE III, domesticated horse, fragment: head, with harness (see Ill. 4)

Incised dots (studs?) decorate the harness. A forelock is indicated; it falls over the harness. The left ear emerges from under the harness. The eyes are incised dots, as are the nostrils, which are not wide-spread. The muzzle is flat. There is a tethering ring (pierced through and entire) under the mouth. The harness is complete except under the muzzle (as with A5q815-f). The muzzle is rectangular in section. At the snout/ring, the section becomes an inverted triangle.

See also M1.209, a TYPE III equid, with wide-set eyes under prominent eye-ridges; the ears appear short, the muzzle relatively narrow. Possibly, there is a

forelock, falling forward high on the crown of the head and between the ears.

BH.383-2 clay artifact, equid trapping; model (?) (see Ill. 5)

This is a long object (6.2 cm) pierced with holes and with a "hook." There is a firing bloom on the back of the object ("front" taken as the face towards the camera). Sàndor Bökönyi suggested that it is a cheek-piece from a horse-harness. The piece does bring to mind various sculptural treatments and horse trappings of later times, but a parallel from the same period as our object has yet to be identified.

A1q960.8, equid, fragment: head (see Ill. 6)

An erect mane comes far forward on the forehead. Contrasting colors of clay emphasize the mane; the contrast has been consciously exploited for this effect. The eyes are far forward on the eye-ridge itself; they are indicated by incised dots made as from a thin reed, with center abraded or removed. Jaw-line clearly indicated. The muzzle is flat underneath to the snout, which is heavily pinched. The muzzle is narrow for an equid and the forward eyes are not typical of the *genus*. The break makes a diagnostic view difficult.

Bibliography

Bökönyi, S.

1974 *History of Domestic Mammals...in Central and Eastern Europe*. Budapest: Adadémiai Kiadó (Hungary).

1980 "La domestication du cheval." *La Recherche* 11, 919-926.

1988 "Actual Knowledge of the History of Horse Domestication." *World Review of Animal Production* XXIV, 35-40.

1994a Personal correspondence to Giorgio Buccellati.

1994b *Prehistoric Domestic and Wild Fauna of Mozan, Syria: A Preliminary Report*. Unpublished expedition paper.

Buccellati, G., Kelly-Buccellati, M., Hauser, R. and Bökönyi, S.

1997 *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, 133-135.

Buccellati, G. and Kelly-Buccellati, M.

1988 *Mozan I. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 20). Malibu: Undena Publications.

1997 "Urkesh, the First Hurrian Capital." *Biblical Archaeologist* 60, 77-96.

Clutton-Brock, J.

1992 *Horse* (Eyewitness Books). Alfred A. Knopf. Conceived by Dorling Kindersley Limited, London/Éditions Gallimard.

Davis, S.J.M.

1987 *The Archaeology of Animals*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Hauser, R.

1997 "The Figurines of Urkesh" in Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1997, 87.

Kelly-Buccellati, M.

1990 "A New Third Millennium Sculpture from Mozan" in *Essays in Ancient Civilization to Helene J. Kantor*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 47,149-154, Plate 26.

1990 "Three Seasons of Excavations at Tell Mozan" in S. Eichler, M. Wäfler, D. Warburton, *Tall al-Hamidiya 2. Symposium: Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis: Series Arhaeologica 6. Freiburg Schweiz, Universitatätverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 119-132, Plates 8 & 9.

Piggott, S.

1992 *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage, Symbol and Status in the History of Transport*. New York, New York: Thames and Hudson.

6

The Historical Background of Urkesh and the Hurrian Beginnings in Northern Mesopotamia*

Piotr Steinkeller

Harvard University, Cambridge

1. This volume and the conference from which it derives have been occasioned by the recent discovery that the site of Tell Mozan is to be identified as ancient Urkesh. The importance of this discovery, which confirms the brilliant hypothesis made by its excavators some years ago, can hardly be overstated. It not only dramatically revises the picture of the historical geography of Mesopotamia, but it also marks a new phase in our study of Hurrian civilization.

Since the history of Urkesh has already been discussed in great detail by the papers presented at this meeting, in this contribution I will try instead to place Urkesh within a broader historical panorama. In short, I will offer an overview of the early history of northern Mesopotamia, with a special attention being paid to the Khabur region, that is the area where Urkesh was situated and where it played such an important role. Because of the great significance of Urkesh for Hurrian history and religion, I will also review very closely the data bearing on the early Hurrian presence in this region.

My perspective will be primarily that of Babylonian sources, though I will also use the data stemming from other parts of Mesopotamia, especially those from Ebla. The time-frame of my paper is roughly the second half of the third millennium, from the late Pre-Sargonic period down to the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

* Abbreviations used are those of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and the *Philadelphia Sumerian Dictionary*.

2. Any serious discussion of the early history of the Khabur region and of the Hurrian beginnings in Mesopotamia must unavoidably begin with the question of Subartu. Although pages upon pages have been written about this problem,[1] Subartu still remains a source of considerable bafflement for the student of ancient Mesopotamia.

The geographical term Subartu[2] is of great antiquity, for it is documented since ca. 2400 BC.[3] In the sources dating to the second millennium, which offer by far the most extensive information on Subartu, Subartu is used primarily to describe the vast territory extending between the upper course of the Tigris and the Balikh, in particular the basin of the Khabur river, the so-called Khabur triangle. During that time, this entire area was inhabited by the Hurrians. Owing to this fact, Subartu came to be associated with the Hurrians, eventually becoming a virtual designation of that people and their land.

What complicates things is that, during the same centuries, Subartu also served to denote a country to the east of the Tigris, which was roughly identical with the heartland of Assyria. And that region, too, had a predominantly Hurrian population.

This ambiguity of the term Subartu poses a major problem for historians, particularly in the context of the third millennium. The unavoidable questions one is faced with are as follows: did there exist, in the third millennium, only one country called Subartu? Or, alternatively, are we dealing already then with two separate Subartus? And, if the latter is the case, how can we distinguish between them?

[1] Among the more recent discussions, see especially J. J. Finkelstein, "Subartu and Subarians in Old Babylonian Sources," JCS 9 (1955) 1-7; W. H. Ph. Römer, WO 4 (1967/68) 15-20; P. Michalowski, "Mental Maps and Ideology: Reflections on Subartu," in *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, ed. by H. Weiss (Guilford, CT, 1986), pp. 129-56; idem, "Sumer Dreams of Subartu: Politics and the Geographical Imagination" (*At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm*, ed. by K. Van Lerberghe and G. Voet, *CRRA* 42, in press); G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), p. 7.

[2] Correctly, the toponym is Shubartu in Akkadian, and Shubur or Shubir or Shubar in Sumerian. For convenience, however, the Anglicized form Subartu (which has become popular of late) will be used throughout in this paper. For a possibility that the word Shubur may be genetically related to Sumer (correctly: Shumer), the Akkadian designation of southern Babylonia and its population, see Steinkeller in *Akkad, the First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions*, ed. by M. Liverani (Padova, 1993), pp. 112-13 and n. 8.

[3] The earliest-known mention of Subartu comes from an Early Dynastic literary composition, a hymn to Nisaba (ARET 5 7 + A. Archi, *Quaderni di semitistica* 18 [1992] 31-35 [= pls. 2-6]). There, Subartu is grouped together with Sumer, Tilmun, and another, yet unidentified, toponym: ⌜X⌝.GIŠ.ŠE^{ki} ŠUBUR^{ki} *Sum-ar-rúm*^{ki} DILMUN^{ki} GAR *in* ŠU, "⌜X⌝.GIŠ.ŠE, Subartu, Sumer, and Tilmun were placed in the hand (of Nisaba?/Enlil?)" (xi 7 - xii 2). Cf. M. Krebernik, *Quaderni di semitistica* 18, pp. 90, 93. For later 3rd mil. attestations of Subartu, see Rép. géogr. 1, pp. 146-47; 2, pp. 174-75.

The situation is complicated, but the facts can nevertheless be sorted out. To begin with, it is quite certain that, already in the third millennium, Subartu had two separate meanings: a narrow sense and a broad sense respectively. In its narrow—and therefore almost certainly its original—sense, which is documented since the Pre-Sargonic period,[4] Subartu denoted an area extending north of the Diyala region and east of the Tigris as far as the Zagros mountains.[5] Since the area so circumscribed is for all practical purposes identical with the later Assyrian homeland, it is fair to conclude that, in this particular usage, Subartu is simply a third millennium designation of Assyria.[6]

As for the broad sense of Subartu, that usage is first documented around 2200 BC, in the royal inscriptions of Naram-Sin, the most prominent member of the so-called Sargonic dynasty.[7] There Subartu describes the whole of northern Mesopotamia, from the Zagros mountains in the east to the Amanus ranges in the West. When employed in this sense, therefore, Subartu is a designation of northern Mesopotamia, being, as such, virtually conterminous with the term *mātu eltu*, "Upper Country" (see Fig. 3).[8]

From then on, until the end of the OB period, Subartu meant both. It is characteristic, however, that in the sources written from the southern Mesopotamian or "Babylonian"

[4] See in detail below p. 78f.

[5] In fact, this definition of Subartu Proper was offered, over half a century ago, by I. J. Gelb. As Gelb wrote: "[Subartu] is situated north of Babylonia in an area extending from the Tigris to the Zagros Mountains. Its northern boundary is unknown; its southern lies probably north of the Diyala, which is held by Ešnunna. Subartu touches the bank(s) of the Tigris ... The area thus determined includes the territory of Assyria proper and fits well the implication of the inscriptions from Mari and Ešnunna that Subartu was not too distant from either. The inclusion of Assyria in Subartu in contemporaneous texts is confirmed by later Babylonian tradition, which identifies Subartu with Assyria" (*Hurrians and Subarians* [Chicago, 1944], pp. 85-86). And this defintion still stands.

[6] An important datum further corroborating this conclusion is provided by one of the letters included in the Ur III royal correspondence, which places Simurum, a well-known trans-Tigridian locality (see Rép. géogr. 2, p. 168), in the land of Subartu: Si-mu-ur-rum ma-da Su-bir$_4^{ki}$, "Simurum of the land of Subartu" (P. Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur* [PhD Diss., Yale University, 1976], p. 168 line 4). Cf. Michalowski, "Sumer Dreams."

[7] See in detail below pp. 86-90. This extended sense of Subartu resulted from the wholesale transformation and expansion of the Babylonian world-view under Naram-Sin. For the processes at work, see Michalowski's perceptive discussion in "Sumer Dreams."

[8] Cf. Finkelstein, JCS 9, p. 4: "... Subartu, from the point of view of Babylonia, spanned an extremely broad area in an arc that extended, roughly, from the northern borders of Elam in the East to the Amanus in Northwest Syria ... The larger conception of Subartu is purely geographic and has no political signification."

perspective, such as those of Hammurabi of Babylon[9] and of Dadusha of Eshnuna,[10] Subartu still denotes primarily Assyria. On the other hand, when used at Mari on the middle Euphrates, the same term means specifically the Khabur region.[11]

2.1. A review of the evidence pertaining to the early history of the two Subartus is called for at this point. To avoid confusion, in the following discussion these two territories will be referred to as Subartu Proper and Greater Subartu, respectively.

The earliest historical references to Subartu date to Eanatum of Lagash, who ruled at ca. 2400 BC. As described in his inscriptions, Eanatum fought and defeated a coalition of the armies of Elam, Subartu, and Urua.[12] Given that the decisive battle was fought within Lagash's borders, near the place called Asuhur,[13] Lagash undoubtedly was on a defensive in this conflict.[14]

This military episode has important bearing on the question of Subartu. First, we learn from it that Subartu had been allied with Elam and Urua. As is well known, the land of Elam represented the western portion of the Iranian plateau, more specifically,

[9] Year-formulae 30, 32, 33, 37, and 39 (RLA 2, pp. 180-81; M. Stol, *OB History*, pp. 33-41); UET 1 146 iii-iv (= Frayne, RIME 4, p. 357 Hammurabi 20); Frayne, RIME 4, pp. 339-40 Hammurabi 6. Cf. also CT 15 1-2 (= Römer, WO 4, pp. 12-15), which possibly belongs to Hammurabi's reign.

[10] Of special importance here is the (as yet unpublished) victory stele of Dadusha, for which see provisionally B. Khalil Ismail, "Eine Siegesstele des Königs Daduša von Ešnunna," in *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients: Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes, Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburstag gewidmet*, ed. by W. Meid and H. Trenkwalder, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 24 (Innsbruck, 1986), pp. 105-08. As defined in that inscription, the territory of Subartu extended from the lands of Buranda and Eluhti in the west (both situated west of the Tigris) to the mountains of Lullubu in the east. According to the same source, one of the lands included in Subartu was Qab(a)rā, broadly located between the Upper and the Lower Zāb (see below p. 85 and nn. 40-41).

[11] For this observation, see already Finkelstein, op. cit., p. 4: "the contexts of the Hammurabi inscriptions and year-dates appear to limit Subartu to the East Tigris area ... [whereas] in the horizon of the Mari archives ... Subartu in the political sphere appears to be restricted to the Upper Khabur area."

[12] Elam Šubur^{ki} Urua(URUxA)^{ki} A-suhur-ta GÍN.ŠÈ bi-sig$_{10}$, "he defeated Elam, Subartu, and Urua at Asuhur" (H. Steible, FAOS 5/1, p. 150 Ean. 2 vi 17-20). Cf. Elam^{ki} Šubur$^{[ki]}$ kur giš níg-gur$_{11}$ [GÍN.ŠÈ bi-sig$_{10}$], "[he defeated] Elam and Subartu, lands of timber and treasure" (ibid., p. 143 Ean. 1 rev. vi 10-12); [Elam] Šubur [g]ú mu-na-gar, "he subjugated [Elam] and Subartu to him (i.e., to Ningirsu)" (ibid., p. 157 Ean. 5 ii 2-3).

[13] That Asuhur (a small rural settlement, which also gave name to a canal and to a field) belonged to the state/province of Lagash is assured by the evidence of Ur III sources. See the attestations (all from Lagash texts) listed in Rép. géogr. 2, pp. 16, 256, to which add MVN 12 212:6 (case). Cf. also Rép. géogr. 1, p. 208.

[14] See Michalowski in *Origins of Cities*, p. 136; idem, "Sumer Dreams."

the region around the city of Susa. As for Urua, this important Elamite city-state was located on the southern border of Elam, at a short distance from Susa.[15] Given this geographical background of its allies, it is absolutely certain, therefore, that the Subartu of Eanatum's inscriptions must have been Subartu Proper, i.e., the area to the east of the Tigris, roughly the territory of historical Assyria.

Second, the fact that Subartu had been able to launch an invasion into the heart of Babylonia offers a clear indication that, at least in the Pre-Sargonic period, this land counted as a major political and military power.

Now, the power of such a standing is expected, of course, to have had its own political and administrative center or, to use another word, a capital. But that capital remains so far unidentified.

In my opinion, the most likely candidate for that missing capital of Subartu is Hamazi, a very important—though rather mysterious—third millennium urban center. Although its precise location remains unknown, it is generally agreed that Hamazi was situated to the east of the Tigris and to the north of the Diyala Region, but not too far from Babylonia.[16] Given this information, it is highly probable, therefore, that Hamazi formed part of Subartu Proper, whose territory, as I noted earlier, was closely identical with that of historical Assyria (Fig. 3).

But, apart from what is known about its geographical situation, are there any other reasons to think that Hamazi was Subartu's capital? To begin with, in at least one source,

[15] For the location of Urua, see Steinkeller, ZA 72 (1982) 244-46.

[16] Rép. géogr. 2, p. 73: "Grobe Lokalisierung im Osttigrisland zw. Oberem Zāb und Diyāla"; M. C. Astour, SCCNH 2, p. 8: "Hamazi was located not in northern Iran, but close enough to the Sumero-Akkadian heartland to be included in the Sumerian King List ..."; Wilcke, Studies Sjöberg AV, p. 560: "We locate Ḫamazi between Urbilum (ᶜArbīl) and the area of Modern Kerkuk, perhaps on the lower Zab." Among the evidence bearing on the location of Hamazi, the following points are of special significance:

(a) Hamazi represented the northernmost territory of the Ur III empire. This is indicated by a letter of Puzur-Shulgi to Ibbi-Sin, which quotes Ishbi-Erra's threat to conquer and to bring before the goddess Ninisina all the territories "from the land of Hamazi (all the way down) to the sea of Makkan (i.e., the Persian Gulf)": ma-da Ha-ma-zi$^{(ki)}$-ta en-na a-ab-ba Má-gan-na^{ki}-šè (Michalowski, *Correspondence*, p. 254 line 10).

(b) Hamazi could be reached by waterways from Puzrish-Dagan. See PDT 1 454:1-5, from Puzrish-Dagan, according to which 20 sheep were loaded on a boat (as the travel provisions of) Tabur-ḫaṭṭum, the daughter-in-law of Ur-Ishkur (the governor of Hamazi), when she went to Hamazi: 10 udu ú 10 máš-gal ú Da-bur-PA-tum é-gi$_4$-a Ur-^{d} ⌜Iškur⌝ ud Ha-ma-zé^{ki}-šè ì-gin-na-a má-a ba-na-a-gub .

(c) Hamazi appears to have been a neighbor of Karahar. See the title énsi Ha-ma/-àm-zi^{ki} ù Kára-har^{ki}, held by Arad-Nanna (Rép. géogr. 2, p. 73), which suggests that, at that time at least, the two localities formed a joint governorship.

the names of Hamazi and Subartu are combined to form as a single geographical designation,[17] suggesting a close connection—if not outright identity—between the two. And then there is the fact that Hamazi was a major actor in the international power-play of Pre-Sargonic times. Very significantly, the Sumerian King List identifies Hamazi as one of the city-states that succeeded in exercising hegemony over Babylonia during the Pre-Sargonic age.[18] At the very least, this information attests to the importance of Hamazi as a political and military power.

That Hamazi was actively involved in the power play of Pre-Sargonic Babylonia is also indicated by the record of a military conflict involving Hamazi and a royal figure named Puzuzu (or Pussusu).[19] Although the precise identity of Puzuzu is unknown, both

[17] kur Šubur^{ki} Ha-ma-zi^{ki} (vars.: Su!(ZU)-bir$_4^{ki}$, -zí^{ki}, Ha-ma-zi, Hé-me-zi), "the land of Subartu-Hamazi" or "the land of Subartu (with/including) Hamazi" (S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* [Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1973], p. 70 line 141). Importantly, Subartu-Hamazi is accorded there the status of one of the four cardinal subdivisions of Babylonia—next to Sumer (Ki-en-gi), Akkad (Ki-Uri), and the Amorite Lands (kur Mar-tu) (ibid. lines 142-144), reflecting undoubtedly the geo-political realities of Ur III times. This "land of Subartu-Hamazi" is obviously identical with the "land of Hamazi" (see the previous note under (a)), both meaning geographically Assyria.

Note, further, that in a letter from Puzur-Shulgi to Ibbi-Sin, describing the progress of Ishbi-Erra's conquests, Hamazi is mentioned immediately after Subartu: ^{I}Zi-in-nu-um énsi Su-bir$_4^{ki}$(-a) šaga$_x$(LÚxKÁR)-a im-mi-in-ak/dab$_5$ Ha-ma-zi^{ki} nam-ra-aš im-mi-in-ak, "he (i.e., Ishbi-Erra) took prisoner Zinnum, the governor of Subartu, he plundered Hamazi" (Michalowski, *Correspondence*, p. 255 lines 35-36). As one might conclude from this context, Zinnum resided in Hamazi. Since, with the exception of the Ur III royal correspondence (known only from OB texts) Subartu is not otherwise attested as a geographical designation in Ur III sources, its usage in this passage is undoubtedly anachronistic. It seems virtually certain, therefore, that the governorship in question was actually that of Hamazi. For Zinnum as a historical figure, see the Isin tablet BIN 9 332:18, belonging to the beginning of Ishbi-Erra's reign, which mentions a gift (níg-šu-taka$_4$-a) intended for Zi-nu-um. Cf. also a mention of Zi-nu-um in BIN 10 188:7 (not dated).

[18] This dynasty, which is credited with only one ruler, named Hadanish, is placed after the 2nd dynasty of Kish and before the 2nd dynasty of Uruk (T. Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 96-99) or, alternatively, before the 2nd dynasty of Ur (Wilcke in *Isin - Išān Baḥrīyāt III*, ed. by. B. Hrouda [Munich, 1987], pp. 89-93). Although no contemporary records of Hadanish survive, chances are that he was a historical figure, who actually assumed control of Nippur at one point in time. This is strongly suggested by the fact that, at least since the Isin-Larsa period, a deified Hadanish was worshipped, together with ^{d}Lum-ma (= Eanatum I of Lagash?), as a protective spirit (udug) of Ekur (Jacobsen, AS 10, pp. 98-99 n. 168; R. L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, An : ^{d}A-nu-um and An : Anu šá amēli* [Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1958], p. 62 lines 188-190). Here note that the cult of ^{d}Lum-ma in Ekur is documented as far back as the Ur III period (PDT 2 1173 i 5, 20).

[19] [DN (PN dumu) P]ù-zu-zu GÍN.ŠÈ Ha-ma-zi^{ki} sag-ri[g$_9$], "[to DN (PN, son of) P]uzuzu, the vanquisher of Hamazi, presented (this vase)" (J. S. Cooper, *Iraq* 46 [1984] 92-93 and pl. 5; idem, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I* [New Haven, 1986], p. 21). This incomplete inscription is preserved on the fragment of a stone vase, which was excavated at Nippur. The vase in question, which appears to have been donated by Puzuzu (or his son) to one of the deities of Nippur, had very likely belonged to the spoils of Hamazi. For the pattern of the inscription, cf. ^{d}Inanna En-na-il dumu A-

his name[20] and the orthography of the inscription in question strongly suggest that he (or his son) was a northern Babylonian ruler, possibly even a king of Kish.

Even more important in this connection is the celebrated Ebla letter which offers evidence of diplomatic contacts between the royal houses of Ebla and Hamazi.[21] This document, the only example of international royal correspondence before the Old Babylonian period, is an archival copy of the letter sent by Irkab-Damu of Ebla, to Zizi, the ruler of Hamazi. Together with the letter, Irkab-Damu sent to Hamazi, as a good-will gift, a number of items made of boxwood,[22] expecting to obtain in return a shipment of fine kúnga-mules.[23] One may confidently assume that the intention of this diplomatic overture was to form an alliance between Ebla and Hamazi. This is made clear by the following lines of the letter, which establish—or at least postulate—a brotherhood between the two rulers: "Irkab-Damu, ruler of Ebla, is the brother of Zizi, the ruler of Hamazi, and, vice versa, Zizi, ruler of Hamazi, is the brother of Irkab-Damu, ruler of Ebla."[24]

In order to appreciate fully the significance of this letter, a historical aside is necessary at this point. The said Irkab-Damu was the successor of Igrish-Halab, the earliest ruler of Ebla whose archival records have survived.[25] As can be gleaned from the sources bearing on the history of Ebla before Irkab-Damu's reign, it is clear that, under his predecessors, Ebla had repeatedly been invaded by the state of Mari. As a result of those invasions, most of Ebla's territory fell under Mari's control. Ebla itself became a vassal state, and was forced to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Mari. This

^{d}[I]M.M[I]$^{mu\check{s}en}$ Elam GÍN.ŠÈ sag-rig$_9$ (Steible, FAOS 5/2, p. 218), where Enna-il appears to be identical with his namesake, the king of Kish.

[20] This personal name—variously spelled Pù-zu-zu, Pù-su-su, and KA-su-su (cf. also Pù-za-za)—is common in the Sargonic texts from northern Babylonia, the Diyala Region, and Gasur. See MAD 1, pp. 185-86, 210; 5, p. 115; F. Rasheed, *The Ancient Inscriptions in Himrin Area* (Baghdad, 1981), p. 157; HSS 10, p. xxxvi.

[21] G. Pettinato, *Rivista Biblica* 25 (1977) 238-42 75.2342, photographs following p. 243.

[22] 10 ^{giš}taskarin 2 ^{giš}GAM ^{giš}taskarin, "10 (pieces of furniture?) of boxwood, 2 wagons(?) of boxwood" (iv 1-2).

[23] kúnga(BAR.AN) sag$_5$ (iii 5). It is interesting to note that Hamazi continued to be a supplier of kúnga-mules as late as the Ur III period. See MVN 3 217 = AUCT 1 798 (AS 1/ix), recording the delivery of 16 kúnga to Puzrish-Dagan, from Lu-Nanna, son of Namhani, the governor of Hamazi.

[24] Ìr-kab-da-mu en Eb-la^{ki} šeš Zi-zi en Ha-ma-zi-im^{ki} Zi-zi en Ha-ma-zi-im^{ki} šeš Ìr-kab-da-mu en Eb-la^{ki} (iv 6 - vi 1).

[25] See A. Archi, OLZ 88 (1993) 466-70.

situation changed quite considerably during the reign of Irkab-Damu. Although it is unlikely that, as thought by some scholars,[26] Irkab-Damu was able to reverse the balance of power completely, it would seem that he did nevertheless recover some of the lost territories, and that, under his leadership, Ebla attained at least a semblance of political independence. In any case, there is no doubt that, whatever the true effectiveness of Irkab-Damu's policies may have been, those policies were singularly directed at the undermining of the power of Mari. In this light, the objective of Irkab-Damu's overtures toward Hamazi, of which the surviving letter to Zizi is an eloquent testimony, could only have been to bring Hamazi into an anti-Mari coalition.

Since the Ebla archives contain no further mentions of the contacts with Hamazi—in fact, this is the only reference to Hamazi extant in Ebla sources[27]—it is fair to conclude that, for whatever reason, the Ebla-Hamazi alliance wished for by Irkab-Damu never materialized. Although of no lasting consequence, this episode of diplomatic history does nevertheless merit our attention, for it firmly establishes Hamazi's reputation as a major political and military power of the age—a power which, in Irkab-Damu's eyes, would have been a valuable ally of Ebla in her struggle with Mari, and which, therefore, had probably been an adversary of Mari.

While evaluating the status of Hamazi in Pre-Sargonic times,[28] we cannot omit to consider the tantalizing reference to Hamazi which is contained in the Sumerian literary composition *Enmerkar and Ensuhkeshdana*.[29] This epic tale describes a conflict between the legendary Early Dynastic king of Uruk named Enmerkar and a ruler of the country of Aratta, a mythical "never-never-land," which was thought by the ancients to be situated somewhere on the eastern fringes of Elam. Frustrated in his repeated attempts to defeat Enmerkar, the ruler of Aratta hires, as the last ditch effort, a sinister magician who hailed from Hamazi. Here is how the tale describes the background of that

[26] E.g., Astour in *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Ebla Language* 3, ed. by C. H. Gordon and G. A. Rendsburg (Winona Lake, 1992), pp. 50-51. For a more realistic assessment of Ebla's political and military importance vis-à-vis Mari, see M. G. Biga and F. Pomponio, JCS 42 (1990) 198-99; Archi, OLZ 88, p. 470.

[27] But note the mention of an en Ha-ma-za-a^{ki} in 75.1462 rev. i 3, cited by A. Archi and F. Pomponio, ARES 2, p. 260, which could possibly, but not necessarily, involve Hamazi.

[28] Yet another datum on Hamazi in Pre-Sargonic times is provided by the personal name Ur-^{d}Ha-ma-zi-da, recorded in a tablet from Lagash (CT 50 26 ii 3). The deity invoked in that name—^{d}Ha-ma-zi-da—undoubtedly is the Sumerianized Ḫamazītu, a goddess (Ishtar?) of Hamazi.

[29] A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna*, Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 2 (Philadelphia, 1979).

character: "the magician whose skill was that of a Hamazite, Urgirnuna whose skill was that of a Hamazite; after Hamazi had been destroyed, he moved over to Aratta."[30]

Now, this literary passage is of interest for several reasons. First, there is its potential historical import. Although *Enmerkar and Ensuhkeshdana* is manifestly a fable, and its date is considerably later than its alleged historical background (it was probably composed and written down around 2100 BC), it is nevertheless possible that this composition preserves some real memory of the events and realia of Pre-Sargonic times. If so, the "destruction of Hamazi" referred to in the above passage could reflect the tradition of a war that was waged on Hamazi by some early Babylonian ruler. Here, of course, one thinks of the aforementioned Puzuzu, a documented Pre-Sargonic conqueror and spoiler of Hamazi.

Another reason why this passage merits our attention is the fact that it links Hamazi with Aratta or, in other words, with Elam. We may recall that, after the destruction of Hamazi, our magician moved to Aratta, entering the employ of its ruler. The obvious implication of this turn of events is that Aratta = Elam was Hamazi's neighbor. And, apparently, it was a friendly neighbor at that, a place where a Hamazite could expect to find refuge. This linking of Hamazi with Elam cannot but bring to mind the earlier-discussed episode of Eanatum's reign, during which that Pre-Sargonic ruler of Lagash was confronted by a joint coalition of the forces of Subartu and Elam.

Lastly, we learn from this passage that Hamazi was reputed to be a center of magic arts. Although this reputation of Hamazi is not confirmed by any other data, it is interesting to note that a similar tradition pertained to Subartu. Subartu, too, was renowned for its magic. Our evidence here is a small group of cuneiform magical texts or incantations, dating to the Old Babylonian period, which are written in various "strange" languages.[31] Although most of these texts remain undeciphered, at least two of them are known to be written in Elamite,[32] while one, in Hurrian.[33] Now, what

[30] maš-maš dím-ma-ni dumu Ha-ma-zu-ke$_4$/[k]am Ur-gír-nun-na dím-ma-ni dumu Ha-ma-zu-ke$_4$/^{ki}-kam Ha-ma-zu hul-a-ta Aratta^{ki}(-aš) bala-a (ibid., p. 48 lines 135-137).

[31] See J. Van Dijk, VAS 17 (Berlin, 1971), pp. 8-9; idem, "Fremdsprachige Beschwörungstexte in der Südmesopotamischen literarischen Überlieferung," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, 1, ed. by H. Kühne, H.-J. Nissen, and J. Renger, BBVO 1 (Berlin, 1982), pp. 97-110; idem, YOS 11 (New Haven, 1985), pp. 3-4.

[32] YOS 11 5:15-22 and 18. For other possible candidates, see Van Dijk, "Fremdsprachige Beschwörungstexte," pp. 100-02.

[33] VAS 17 5. Another likely example of a Hurrian incantation is VAS 17 6. See Van Dijk, op. cit.,

connects these incantations with Subartu is the fact that, according to a note appended to one of them, that particular text (which, unfortunately, cannot be read) is written in the "language of Subartu."[34] A possibility therefore exists that this entire collection of incantations was thought by the ancients to stem from Subartu. The inclusion in it of texts written in the Hurrian and Elamite languages—of which at least the former is known to have been used within Subartu's borders—makes this hypothesis even stronger.

Besides these scant data, little additional information on Hamazi survives in cuneiform sources. During the Sargonic period, individuals from Hamazi are mentioned in the economic texts from Gasur,[35] a city situated some 80 kilometers to the east of Assur. Hamazi's name also appears in the documentation from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, beginning with the reign of Shulgi.[36] The exact status of Hamazi at that time is unknown, but, later in the reigns of Amar-Sin and Shu-Sin, it clearly formed part, as a separate governorship, of the Ur III state.[37] Following the demise of the Ur III dynasty (at ca. 2000 BC), its name disappears forever from cuneiform sources.[38]

This evidence—though admittedly scant and fragmentary—is nevertheless sufficient to place Hamazi securely in Subartu Proper. It also provides a very strong indication that Hamazi constituted Subartu's chief urban center. If Hamazi was the capital of Subartu, she was, in other words, the original capital of Assyria, for, as we have seen earlier, Subartu Proper and the Assyrian homeland were geographically identical.

This conclusion could have a bearing on the precise location of Hamazi. Although it cannot be excluded that the site of Hamazi was completely abandoned at the turn of the second millennium, a more likely possibility is that, because of its importance as an

p. 103.

[34] inim-inim-ma ne-šag$_4$-ga eme Su-bir$_4^{ki}$-a (YOS 11 65:10-11).

[35] *I-ti-ti Ḫa-ma-zi*^{ki} (HSS 10 153 iii 24-25); *Šu-Eš$_4$-dar Ḫa-ma-zi*^{ki} (ibid. 143 rev. 7', 154 ii 9-10, 155 v 7-8). Note also the PN Ḫamazītum, attested in a Sargonic text from Tell as-Suleimeh (ancient Awal?): *La-mu-sa šu Ḫa-ma-zi-tim* (Rasheed, *Himrin* 4 ii 2-3).

[36] See Rép. géogr. 2, pp. 72-73; D. I. Owen, JCS 33 (1981) 252.

[37] See C. Wilcke, Sjöberg AV, p. 560. During the reigns of Amar-Sin and Shu-Sin Hamazi was a regular payer of the šu-gíd and gún ma-da taxes: MVN 3 217 = AUCT 1 798 (AS 1/ix); PDT 1 171 (AS 2/iii); AUCT 1 93 (AS 5/iv); BIN 3 534 (AS 5/vi); JCS 14 (1960) 109 no. 9 (AS 7/iv); AUCT 3 484 (AS 8/v); PDT 2 959 ([AS x]); PDT 1 449 (ŠS 2/ii); Genouillac Trouvaille 69 (ŠS 8/v); MVN 15 179 (date destr.).

[38] Though it survives in couple of OB geographical lists: Ha-ma-zi^{ki} (MSL 11, p. 57 ii 67, p. 132 iv 41), Ha-ma-zé(!)(AD)^{ki} (ibid., p. 141 ii 14).

ancient urban center and a presumed strategic point, it continued to be occupied, though under a new name. If so, we would expect this Hamazi *redivivus* to be identical with one the capital cities of the region as they existed in OB times. The obvious candidates here are Ekallatum and Qab(a)rā, neither of which is documented before the OB period. The former city, which functioned as the capital of Shamshi-Adad before he established himself in Assur, is in all likelihood to be identified with modern Haikal,[39] situated on the Tigris to the north of Assur. The land of Qab(a)rā, which was the target of a joint campaign of Shamshi-Adad and Dadusha described in Dadusha's victory stele and the correspondence from Mari and Shemshara,[40] is positively known to have been situated between the Zabs. Although the city of Qab(a)rā cannot be placed exactly, it probably was located on the Lower Zab, not too far from the modern town of Altin Köprü.[41]

2.2. These conclusions about the status of Subartu Proper in the third millennium are further illustrated by figure 1, which offers my reconstruction of the political map of Mesopotamia at the time of the Ebla archives, i.e., at ca. 2400 BC. According to this reconstruction, the two greatest powers of the age were Kish and Mari. The former appears to have controlled the entire territory of northern Babylonia, while the latter was in possession of the middle course of the Euphrates up to the city of Emar and of a significant portion of the Khabur region, centering around Nagar, probably modern Tell Brak.[42] And then there were three smaller entities: (1) the kingdom of Akshak, holding sway over the Diyala region[43]; (2) Subartu, roughly overlapping with the Assyrian homeland; (3) and Ebla, controlling the upper section of northern Syria.

[39] See Rép. géogr. 5, p. 101: W. W. Hallo, *Origins: The Ancient Near Eastern Background of Some Modern Western Institutions* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 92-94.

[40] See J. Eidem, "News from the Eastern Front: The Evidence from Tell Shemshāra," *Iraq* 47 (1985) 83-107; D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 312-15; R. M. Whiting in *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2*, ed. by S. Eichler et al., Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 6 (Freiburg, 1990), pp. 169-75; and above n. 10. It is interesting to note that in Dadusha's stele Qab(a)rā is said to have been an "ancient dwelling."

[41] See Eidem, op. cit., p. 84.

[42] See D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, MARI 4, p. 295 n. 14; D. Matthews and Eidem, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 201-07; A. Archi and F. Pomponio, ARES 2, pp. 394-95.

[43] For Akshak (which was deemed important enough to be included in the Sumerian King List [Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 106-07]), see Rép. géogr. 1, p. 10; 2, pp. 6-7; Steinkeller in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. by M. E. Cohen et al. (Bethesda, 1993), p. 244.

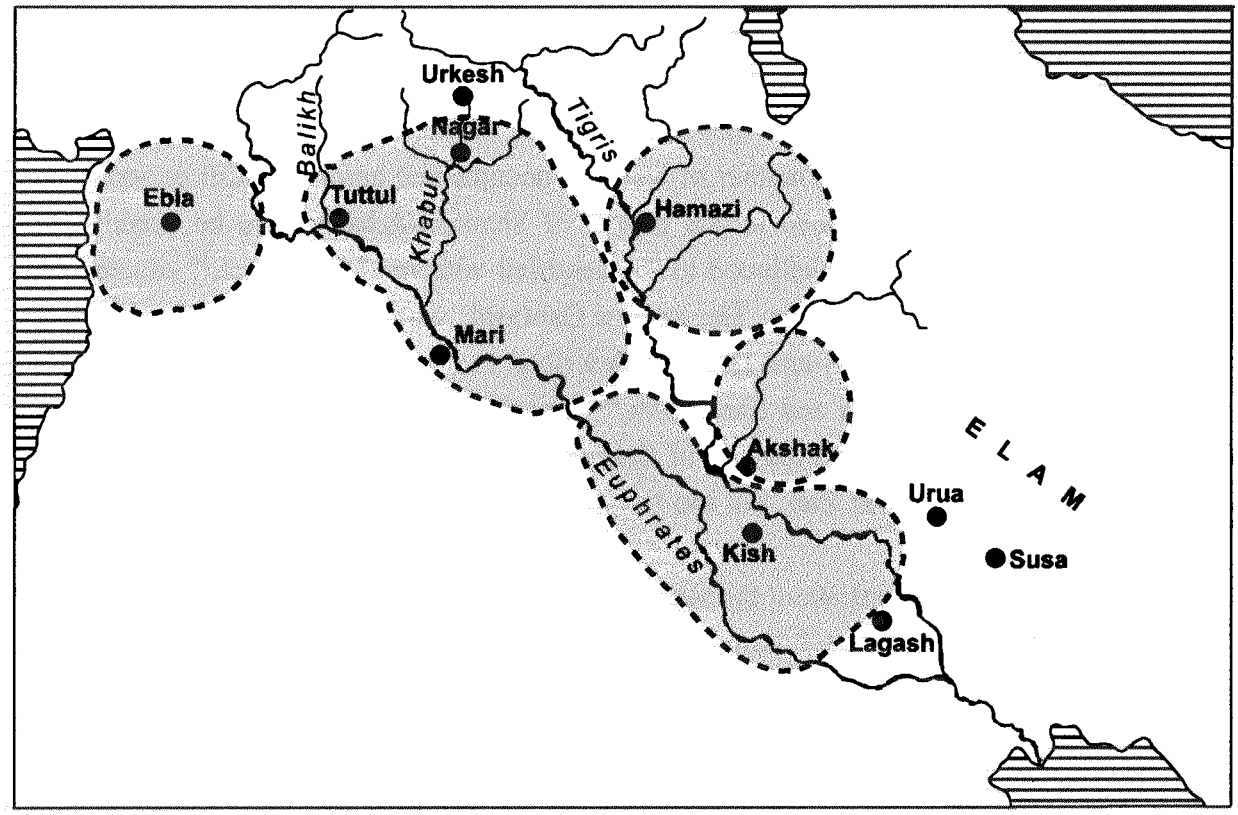


Fig. 1. Political Map of Mesopotamia: 2400 B.C.

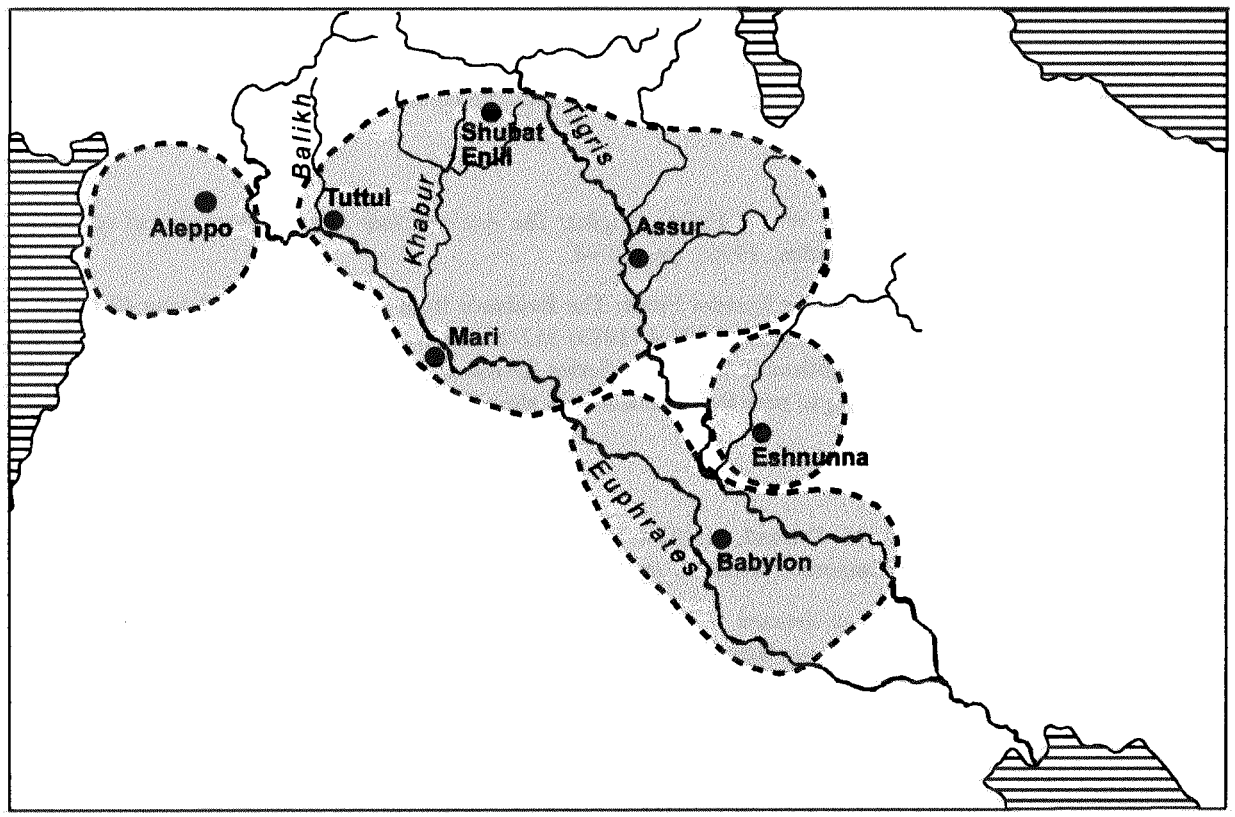


Fig. 2. Political Map of Mesopotamia: 1790 B.C.

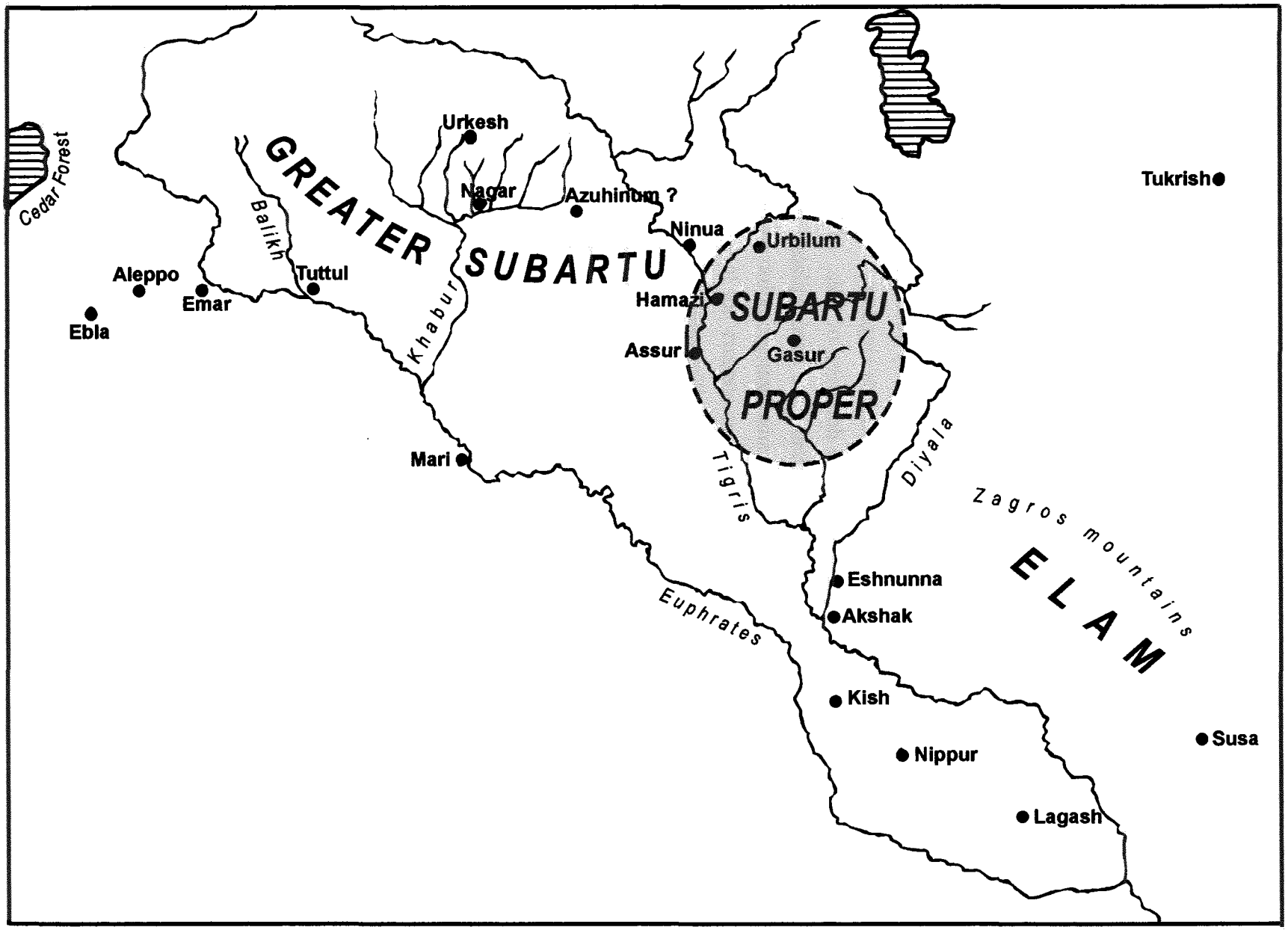


Fig. 3. Political Map of Mesopotamia: 2200 B.C.

It goes without saying that this reconstruction is highly idealized, and as such it may not have been operative at any given time. Since the political history of Pre-Sargonic times, of which we still know extremely little, saw a great deal of turmoil, the distribution of spheres of power during that period must have been subject to numerous shifts and readjustments. For example, we know that, during the reign of Eanatum I of Lagash, Kish, Mari, and Akshak formed a close political and military alliance,[44] possibly, therefore, being united into a single territorial state.

It is instructive, nevertheless, to compare this reconstruction with the political map of the same area six centuries later, at the beginning of the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon (ca. 1790 BC) (see figure 2). When we examine the latter map, we find that it shows almost identical territorial subdivisions: the state of Mari, now united with Assyria, the former Subartu; the Diyala region, formerly controlled by Akshak, now ruled by Eshnuna; northern Babylonia, the former Kishite kingdom, now under Babylon; and the kingdom of Aleppo, replacing the former dominion of Ebla. Although, with the exception of Mari, all of the earlier seats of power have been replaced by new ones, it is significant that the latter occupy roughly the same strategic points as the old ones.

The uncanny resemblance between the two maps appears not to be accidental. One should recall that the historical phases they respectively illustrate—Pre-Sargonic and early Old Babylonian—were quite similar, in that both were characterized by political fragmentation (which in fact was a norm in Mesopotamian history), and this is probably part of the explanation. But more important, it would seem that this particular configuration of territorial subdivisions represents an enduring continuity, which transcended the ever-fluctuating course of political history, and was rooted in and conditioned by the geographic and ecological idiosyncrasies of the region.

2.3. After this brief excursion into the second millennium, we must now return to the Pre-Sargonic period, in order to consider the question of the ethnic status of the two Subartus.

As for Subartu proper, we lack any direct evidence which would permit us to evaluate the ethnic composition of its population in Pre-Sargonic times. If we can extrapolate from the onomastic data dating to the subsequent, i.e., Sargonic period, this area probably had a predominantly Semitic population, with a significant admixture of closer unidentified ethnic elements, some of which may have been Elamite or at least Elamite related.

[44] See Steinkeller in *Akkad*, p. 118 n. 20.

Let us now pass to the Khabur region, that is, the area which, at least since the Sargonic period, represented Greater Subartu. Here, thanks to the royal archives of Ebla, we are in a considerably better position to judge the prevailing ethnic conditions. As shown by the names of the individuals stemming from the Khabur, as they appear in Ebla documentation,[45] the population of this region was largely Semitic. Very significantly, there is no indication of any Hurrian presence at that time.

These findings appear to be corroborated by the recently excavated tablets from Tell Beydar, a site situated in the lower section of the Khabur triangle, 20 kilometers to the southeast of Urkesh.[46] Although these texts, which are contemporaneous with the Ebla material, remain still unpublished,[47] it is my understanding that the personal names recorded in them are mainly—if not exclusively—Semitic. As in the case of the Ebla evidence, no Hurrian names appear in these texts.[48]

To sum up, at the time of Ebla archives (ca. 2400 BC), the population of both Subartus appears to have been predominantly Semitic, with a possible Elamite admixture in Subartu Proper. We find no evidence of any Hurrian presence in either region.

The next point in time at which a similar assessment of the ethnic and language situation can be made is ca. 2200 BC, i.e., during the reign of Naram-Sin, the greatest ruler of the Sargonic dynasty. It is then that written documentation again becomes sufficiently abundant to permit such an evaluation.

Founded by Sargon, the Sargonic dynasty reached the apogee of its power under Naram-Sin, Sargon's grandson. The empire of Naram-Sin encompassed most of Western Asia, extending from Anatolia in the west to central Iran in the east, and from Armenia in the north to the coast of Arabia in the south.

[45] Unfortunately, Urkesh is not mentioned in it.

[46] See S. Anastasio, *The Archaeology of Upper Mesopotamia: An Analytical Bibliography for the Pre-Classical Periods*, Subartu I (Turnhout, 1995), p. 198, site no. 86 on the map (after p. 247); M. Lebeau and A. Suleiman, eds., *Tell Beydar, Three Seasons of Excavations (1991-1994): A Preliminary Report*, Subartu III (Turnhout, 1997).

[47] See now F. Ismail, W. Sallaberger, Ph. Talon, and K. Van Lerberghe, *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993-1995)*, Subartu II (Turnhout, 1996).

[48] See F. Ismail et al., op. cit., who repeatedly note the total absence of Hurrian personal names in the Tell Beydar tablets (pp. 32, 75, 80, 120). Note, especially, their conclusion on p. 32: "Thus the Beydar evidence might indicate that the Hurrians entered the (southern half of the) Hābur triangle between ED IIIb and the later Sargonic period. Even if the border of Hurrian population should already have been close to Beydar at the time of the tablets, the seemingly total absence of Hurrian names there deserves attention." Cf. my own conclusions, in this paper, pp. 86f. and 93f.

It is in Naram-Sin's royal inscriptions that we first encounter the broadened usage of the term Subartu. In a text dating probably to the end of his reign,[49] Naram-Sin's territorial possessions are said to have included "the entire land of Elam, up to Parahshum, and the land of Subartu, up to the Cedar Forest."[50] This phrase clearly describes the extent of Naram-Sin's empire along the east-west axis: in the east, its farthest extension was Parahshum, a distant exotic land situated in southeastern Iran;[51] in the west, the corresponding point was the "Cedar Forest," that is, the Amanus range on the Mediterranean coast. Thus, as it is employed here, Subartu means the territory stretching all the way between Elam, i.e., the Zagros mountains, and the "Cedar Forest," i.e., the Amanus range—in other words, the entire Upper Mesopotamia.

Here it may be pointed out that, in the above phrase, also the term Elam is accorded a broader sense. We will recall that, in its narrow usage, Elam is a designation of the western section of the Iranian plateau, particularly the region of Susa. More broadly, however, Elam signifies the entire Iranian plateau, up to the borders with Afghanistan and Pakistan.

It is also during the reign of Naram-Sin that the Hurrians make their first appearance on the scene. Thus, individuals with unmistakably Hurrian names are mentioned in the texts from northern Mesopotamia. One finds such names both in the sources stemming from the Khabur region and those from Subartu Proper.[52] Individuals bearing Hurrian names, some of whom may have been prisoners-of-war, are also encountered in the texts from Babylonia.[53]

[49] I. J. Gelb and B. Kienast, FAOS 7, pp. 249-51; Frayne, RIME 2, pp. 130-31; Kienast, FAOS 8, p. 358.

[50] *sa-bi-ir* KIŠ.MI.X(error for GIŠ.TUKUL?) KALAM ELAM.KI *ga-lí-sa-ma a-ti-ma Ba-ra-aḫ-sum*^{ki} *ù* KALAM [Š]UBUR$^{šu\text{-}bar\text{-}tim}$.KI *a-ti-ma* GIŠ.TIR [GI]Š.EREN, "(Naram-Sin) the one who smashed the weapon(?) of all of the land of Elam as far as Parahshum, and of the land of Subartu as far as the Cedar Forest" (lines 1-16). For this passage, cf. Steinkeller, ZA 72, p. 246.

[51] See Steinkeller, ZA 72, pp. 246-63.

[52] ᵓÀ-wa-tu-rí, Šè-ni-za-sa-am, Šu-pa-è, Ú-na-ap-šè-ni (L. Milano, *Mozan 2: The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*, SMS 5/1 [1991], pp. 23-25); A-li-a-sar, A-ri-hu-ha, E-wa-rí-ki-ra, Ki-ip-tu-ru, Ši-ni-ša-am (HSS 10, pp. xxviii-xxxvi).

[53] Ú-na-ap-šè-na, A-ri-nin (OSP 1 47 v 3-4); Dup-ki-a-šum (MAD 1 233 iv 11); Tu-pi-in, Šè-eh-rí-in-ip-rí (BE 1 11:13-14); ⌜Ú⌝ •-na-ap-[šè-na(?)] (MAD 4 167:17), A-hu-šè-na (Donbaz-Foster STTI 142:2). Note that the A-hu-šè-na of the last example belonged to a gang of workers identified as Su-bir$_x$(BAPPIR)-a-ne, "Subarians." The same group of workers, bearing such foreign names as Ga-ga-NI, Si-da-ba-RI, Ša-an-me, Zi-na, Šè-na-me, Ú-uš-du-ga-an, A-šu-ig-ga, Da-da-lu-ga, Ú-rí-ga, and Ba-ti-ga (as well as the Akkadian name En-na-DINGIR), appears also in CT 50 104 and ITT 2 3122. Among those names, Si-da-

During this period, we also find the earliest mentions of Hurrian place names, and, most important of all, for the first time we meet Hurrian rulers or chieftains. Thus, one of Naram-Sin's date-formulae tells us of the victory won against Subartu at a place called Azuhinum, and of the capture of a certain Tahish-atal.[54] Now, Tahish-atal is clearly a Hurrian name. To be mentioned in one breath with Naram-Sin, the bearer of this name must have been a person of considerable importance. He undoubtedly was a leader of some rank, possibly in charge of the said Azuhinum, although this is by no means certain. Equally significant, this Hurrian personage is linked in the date-formula in question with the land of Subartu, which is the first instance of the Hurrian ethnic element being associated with Subartu in recorded history.

A very important source bearing on the early history of the Hurrians is one of Naram-Sin's royal inscriptions,[55] which is concerned with a military campaign that this ruler conducted, probably towards the end of his reign, against the "entire land of Subartu."[56] This text, which, unfortunately, is only fragmentarily preserved, catalogues the places conquered by Naram-Sin in the course of that military operation. It is of more than passing interest that quite a few them bore Hurrian names.[57]

Of course, the obvious question this source raises is against which of the two Subartus did Naram-Sin campaign? The end of the inscription, which seems to concern the final phase of that military operation, states that Naram-Sin extended his conquests "to the other bank of the Tigris."[58] Since the text does not indicate which bank of the Tigris is meant—eastern or western, both explanations are possible. One may either assume that the campaign took place in Subartu Proper, that is in the east, and that it was concluded

ba-RI is possibly to be interpreted as the Hurrian Si-da-ba-tal (so Michalowki in *Origin of Cities*, p. 139 n. 16), though the Ur III name Si-da-ba-ru (TCL 5 6039 iii 17, 21) may argue against such an analysis. See also R. Zadok in *kinattūtu ša dārâti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, ed. by A. F. Rainey, Tel Aviv Occasional Publications 1 (Tel Aviv, 1993), p. 227.

[54] *in* 1 M[U] ^{d}*Na-ra-a*[*m*-^{d}E]N.ZU KAS.ŠUDUN ŠUBUR. ⌜KI⌝ *in A-zu-ḫi-nim*^{ki} *i-ša-ru Da-ḫi-ša-ta-li ik-mi-ù*, "the year (when) Naram-Sin won a battle against Subartu in Azuhinum (and) captured Tahish-atal" (Gelb and Kienast, FAOS 7, pp. 51-52 D-13).

[55] Michalowski, ZA 76 (1986) 5-8, plates following p. 8; Gelb and Kienast, FAOS 7, pp. 285-86, 288-90; Frayne, RIME 2, pp. 141-43.

[56] *ša-bir*$_5$ GIŠ.TUKUL ŠUBUR.KI *ga-lí-su*, "(Naram-Sin) the one who smashed the weapon of all of (the land of) Subartu" (ZA 76, p. 5 ii 6'-9').

[57] See Michalowski, ZA 76, p. 11.

[58] [... *ù* KALAM.KI]-*su* [*a-t*]*i-ma* [GN]^{ki} [*ù*] URU.KI.URU.KI [*a*]-*bar-ti* [I]DIGNA.ÍD (ibid., p. 8 v' 1'-6').

on the western bank of the Tigris; or, alternatively, that it took place in Greater Subartu, that is in the west, to be concluded on the Tigris' eastern bank.[59]

For a number of reasons, I favor the second solution. First, there is the fact that the inscription talks of the "entire land of Subartu." Because this designation parallels the term "entire land of Elam" I discussed earlier, where the word Elam is used broadly, one may conclude that Greater Subartu is meant by it. Second, one of the places conquered by Naram-Sin in the course of that campaign was the aforementioned Azuhinum,[60] and that place is almost certainly to be sought to the west of the Tigris.[61] As a matter of fact, this conquest of Azuhinum and the battle that Naram-Sin fought at Azuhinum with Tahish-atal (see above) very likely represented one and the same event.

It appears that the campaign against Subartu was precipitated by a general revolt in that region. It is possible that the person behind that revolt was a ruler of Uruk by the name of Amar-girid, who, as we learn from another source,[62] had sent his envoys to the governors of Subartu and the rulers of the Upper Lands, instigating against Naram-Sin.[63]

[59] So Frayne, RIME 2, p. 141.

[60] *A-zu-ḫi-núm* ^{ki} ^{ù} KALAM.KI-*su* (ZA 76, p. 7 iv' 8-9).

[61] This issue is still further complicated by the fact that there existed, at least in OB and later times, two separate places called Azuhinum, which were situated in the Khabur region (Charpin, RA 84 [1990] 94; Rép. géogr. 3, p. 28) and the Assyrian homeland (not far from Kirkuk) respectively (A. Fadhil, *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königreichs Arraphe* [Mainz am Rhein, 1983], pp. 23, 67-81; Rép. géogr. 10, pp. 68-69). However, the toponym mentioned in the Naram-Sin inscription can fairly confidently be identified as the western Azuhinum. I base this conclusion on a Sargonic text (either an itinerary or a royal inscription of Naram-Sin) which places Azuhinum at one day's marching distance from Kurda (1 UD Ì.[DU] *iš-t*[*um*] *Gur-*[*da*^{ki}] *a-na A-z*[*u*]*-ḫi-núm*[^{ki}]—Foster in *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien* = CRAA 38 [Paris, 1992], p. 73 ii' 2'-5'; Frayne, RIME 2, p. 125), whose location in the Khabur is certain (Rép. géogr. 3, p. 146; 5, p. 173). Further, note that the same source also names Nahur (i' 7'), which too belongs to the Khabur basin (Rép. géogr. 4, p. 86; 5, p. 201).

[62] Frayne, RIME 2, pp. 90-94. This extremely important source has recently been re-edited (with a hand-copy) by C. Wilcke, "Amar-Girids Rovolte gegen Narām-Su$^{>}$en," ZA 87 (1997) 11-32.

[63] [*a*]-*na* EN].EN ⌜*a*⌝-*lí-a-tim ù* ÉNSI.ÉNSI ŠUBU[R].KI *iš-tab-ba-ar-ma u-zé-li-ma*, "he (i.e., Amar-girid) kept on sending hostile messages (concerning Naram-Sin) to the rulers of the Upper Lands and the governors of Subartu" (Wilcke, op. cit., p. 31 i 1-8). Assuming that the Sumarian campaign of Naram-Sin was in fact causally related to Amar-girid's machinations, it would follow that the revolt of Subartu and the subsequent military response by Naram-Sin occurred as part of the great turmoil known as the "Insurrection Générale" (for which see, most recently, Wilcke, op. cit., pp. 11-17), possibly representing its final act. However, the chronology of Naram-Sin's reign is known too imperfectly to permit any firm conclusions regarding this point.

If, as I suggested earlier, the Subarian campaign was concluded on the eastern bank of the Tigris, it will not be unreasonable to assume that this operation commenced in the west, deep in Greater Subartu.

But is there a way of telling where exactly it began? Now, the inscription identifies the first two targets of the campaign, but their names are only partially preserved. However, if we assume that these two places were located in the western reaches of Greater Subartu, they may, with certain confidence, be restored as Tuttul and Urkesh.[64]

Fortunately, the locations of both Tuttul and Urkesh are known. Tutul, a famous center of the cult of Dagan, was strategically situated at the confluence of the Balikh with the Euphrates.[65] And Urkesh, of course, is Tell Mozan.

In summary, the following tentative reconstruction of Naram-Sin's Subarian campaign may be offered. In response to a general revolt which erupted in Greater Subartu and the territories farther north, Naram-Sin's troops marched, apparently along the Euphrates, to Tuttul. Having taken Tuttul, they then moved northeastwards, eventually reaching Urkesh. From there they progressed in a southeasternly direction, pacifying the entire area extending between the Khabur and the Tigris. One of the places taken then was Azuhinum, where a battle with the Hurrian ruler Tahish-atal was fought. As the army reached and then crossed the Tigris, the campaign was terminated.

3. At this point, I would like to highlight a number of points that are significant for the early history of the Hurrians in Mesopotamia.

We have seen that, in the course of his Subarian campaign, Naram-Sin conquered a number of places whose names are Hurrian. As I have argued, those places were located in the general region of the Khabur. There is also evidence, likewise from the reign of Naram-Sin, of Hurrian toponymy to the east of the Tigris, i.e., in Subartu proper. Thus we read of a place called Kirasheniwe, where Naram-Sin fought the armies of Simurum and Arame.[66] Since both Simurum and Arame were located to the east of the Tigris

[64] *iš-tum-[ma] Tu-tu-[ul*^{ki}*] ù* KALAM.K[I-*su*] *Ur-k[i-iš*^{ki}*]* (ii 5'-9'). For this restoration, see already Wilhelm in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, ed. by V. Haas, *Xenia* 21 (Constance, 1988), p. 45.

[65] For Tuttul in the 3rd mil., see Archi, "Tuttul-sur-Balih à l'âge d'Ebla," in *Mélanges Kupper* (Liège, 1990), pp. 197-207; Archi and Pomponio, ARES 2, p. 204. For its identification with the site of Tall Bᶜia, see M. Krebernik, MDOG 125 (1993) 52.

[66] *in* MU ^{d}*Na-ra-am-*^{d}E[N.Z]U ŠUDUN *Si-mu-ur*$_4$*-ri-[im*^{ki}*] in Ki-ra-šè-ni-we*^{ki} *iš11-a-ru ù Ba-ba* ÉNSI *Si-mu-ur*$_4$*-ri-im*^{ki} DUB(?).UL(?) ÉNSI *A-ra-me*^{ki} *ik-mi-ù* (Gelb and Kienast, FAOS 7, p. 51 D-12). For Kirasheniwe, cf. the later toponym Tasheniwe (Rép. géogr. 10, pp. 281-84; spelled Da-ši-ne-we in the Ur

River,[67] the same apparently was true of Kirasheniwe, which is clearly a Hurrian word.

Now, the presence of Hurrian toponymy throughout northern Mesopotamia during the reign of Naram-Sin is a fact of considerable historical importance, for it proves the existence, already at that early date, of firmly established Hurrian communities throughout this region. This, in turn, indicates that the immigration of the Hurrians into northern Mesopotamia must have began at least one generation before Naram-Sin.

As is shown by the episode with Tahish-atal, there even existed in this region a Hurrian state or, at the very least, a state ruled by a Hurrian. But Tahish-atal apparently was not a unique case. During roughly the same period, i.e., the reigns of Naram-Sin and Shar-kali-sharri and the time of the Gutian domination, we hear of several other Hurrian rulers. Thus, in the city of Urkesh, there rules Tupkish; at Nagar, we find a Hurrian ruler named Talpuzatili;[68] in Urbilum, modern Arbela, there is a certain Nirish-huha,[69] whose name likewise appears to be Hurrian. And, if we can trust later tradition, there were, during the Sargonic period, Hurrian rulers also at Simurum,[70] and even at Tukrish,[71] a distant Iranian land, whose location may have been as far to the east as the Caspian Sea.[72]

In this connection, we need finally to consider the case of the Hurrian ruler Atal-shen. According to his inscription,[73] Atal-shen was a king of Urkesh and Nawar. Since, as

III text A 2870:20).

[67] For Simurum, see Rép. géogr. 2, p. 168. Arame is identical with the Ur III Arami (ibid., p. 15). Cf. also URU *Ar-ra-mu*^{ki} *ma-a-at* SU.BIR$_4$.KI (YOS 13 35:2-3 - OB) and A-ra-mi-il^{ki} (MSL 11, p. 57 iii 83 - OB). Another example of a trans-Tigridian Hurrian toponym in Sargonic times may be Talmush(a). See Michalowski in *Origin of Cities*, p. 139.

[68] See Matthews and Eidem, *Iraq* 55, pp. 202 and 206.

[69] ^{I}*Ni-ri-iš-ḫu-ḫa* ÉN[SI] *Ur-bi-*[*lum*^{ki}] (Frayne, RIME 2, p. 227 Erridu-pizir 3 xi 9-11). For the name, cf. the Nuzi Ni-iš-hu-ha (Gelb et al., OIP 57, p. 107), the Sargonic A-ri-hu-ha (see above n. 51), the Ur III Šu-bí-iš-hu-ha (of Kakmi), and the OB Ip-hu-ha and Ka-di-iš-hu-hu (see Zadok in *Kutscher Memorial Volume*, p. 226).

[70] ^{I}*Pu-ut-ti-ma-tá-al* LUGAL *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im* (A. K. Grayson and E. Sollberger, RA 70 [1976] 110 MAH 10829:29 - OB Mari).

[71] ^{I}Ki-ik-li-pa-ta-al(-li-in) URU Du-uk-ri-iš-hi (KUB 27 38 iv 13—a Hittite-Hurrian ritual referring to the events of the Sargonic period). See Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 55; A. Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22/1-4 (1974) 166-67; W. W. Hallo, RHA 36 (1978) 72 n. 16 (who compares the name in question with the Ur III Gi-ba-a-[tal] of Urbilum).

[72] See Steinkeller, ZA 72, p. 248.

[73] F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 9 (1912) 1-4; Wilhelm in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, pp. 46-50.

is shown by his title, Atal-shen ruled over two major urban centers, which seem to have been situated at a considerable distance from one another,[74] his must have been a true kingdom. It goes without saying that with this kingdom we cross a critical threshold in the evolution of Hurrian political structures.

Unfortunately, the date of Atal-shen's reign remains uncertain. For paleographic reasons, it is unlikely that it belongs to the Sargonic period; a post-Sargonic or even an Ur III date is more probable. This would mean that Atal-shen was one of the successors of Tupkish, the Hurrian master of Urkesh whose sealings were recently excavated at Tell Mozan.[75]

Given the fact that Tupkish's rule seems to have been confined to Urkesh, we should probably assume that the unification of Urkesh with Nawar, and, with it, the creation of what apparently was the first Hurrian kingdom, occurred only later. The person responsible for that momentous event probably was Atal-shen, whose reign, as I noted earlier, in all likelihood belongs to the beginning of the Ur III period, i.e., ca. 2100 BC.

There is one more datum of significance for the early Hurro-Babylonian contacts that deserves to be discussed here. We will recall that several of Naram-Sin's inscriptions talk of a revolt of the "governors of Subartu and the rulers of the Upper Lands."[76] Since, according to the geographical outlook of these sources, Subartu denotes northern Mesopotamia, those mysterious "Upper Lands" must represent the territory situated immediately to the north of it, i.e., southern Armenia.[77] And, as a matter of fact, we know that Naram-Sin's armies did penetrate that region. Not only does Naram-Sin boast

[74] It appears quite certain that Nawar (possibly identical with Nagar) was located in the south central portion of the Khabur basin. See Matthews and Eidem, *Iraq* 55, pp. 204-05; Wilhelm, *Amurru* 1 (Paris, 1996), pp. 177-78.

[75] See the contributions of G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati in this volume; also idem, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing," AfO 52-53 (1995/96) 1-32.

[76] See above n. 62 and Frayne, RIME 2, pp. 129-31 Naram-Sin 25:33-40.

[77] In a fragmentarily preserved royal inscription, which very likely belongs to Naram-Sin's reign, the following conquered(?) territories are named: Ebla, Mari, Tuttul, x, Urkesh (Ur-gi$_4$-iš^{ki}), Mukish, x, x, Abarnium, and the "land where the cedar is cut, and its territories" (kur ^{giš}eren kud ma-da-ma-d[a-bi]), "the land of Subartu, on the coasts of the Upper Seas, ⌜two(?)⌝ [of them]" (kur Šubur-r[a] gaba-gaba a-ab-[ba i]gi-nim-ma ⌜2(?)⌝-[na-bi(?)]), x, and Makkan, with its territories (M. Civil, JCS 21 [1967] 27 Text B, 37; Frayne, RIME 2, pp.162-63). Since the context seems to exclude both the Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea, the "Upper Seas" referred to are probably the Lake Urmia and the Lake Van. This is also the conclusion of Civil, op. cit., p. 38, who translates "the country of Šubur on the shores of the upper lakes."

that during one of his campaigns he reached the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris,[78] but there also survives a material proof of his visit there. This proof is a fragmentarily preserved inscribed stele, which was found in the vicinity of Diyarbakir.[79]

Now, although we do not know where exactly the early Hurrians came from, it will not be unreasonable to assume that their homeland was located somewhere in the Trans-Caucasian region, quite possibly in Armenia. Accordingly, there is a strong possibility that the "Upper Lands" mentioned in Naram-Sin inscriptions represented in fact the original home of the Hurrians. That homeland apparently was comprised of a number of states, which, as is indicated by their having rulers, possessed a developed political organization.

The expansion of Hurrian speaking peoples in northern Mesopotamia, which, as we have seen, was well under way already during the reign of Naram-Sin, continued, and perhaps even intensified, during the next two centuries. By the end of the Ur III period,[80] the rulers of all the major power centers in this region bear, almost without exception, Hurrian names.[81] Apart from demonstrating the growing importance of the Hurrian ethnic element, this evidence also suggests the existence of a system of Hurrian kingdoms in this region. The indisputable example of such a kingdom was that of Urkesh and Nawar, which was situated in the Khabur.

To summarize, the following conclusions about the earliest history of the Hurrians in Mesopotamia may be drawn. Sometime between 2400 BC and one generation before Naram-Sin at the latest, there took place a massive migration of Hurrian speaking peoples into northern Mesopotamia. By the time of Naram-Sin (2200 BC), there existed established Hurrian communities throughout this entire region, from Anatolia in the west to the Zagros in the east. In the same period, we also find suggestive evidence of the first Hurrian states or, perhaps more correctly, proto-states. The state-formation processes

[78] *in* 1 MU ^{d}*Na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU *na-gáb* IDIGNA.ÍD *ù* UD.KIB.NUN.ÍD *ik-su-tu ù* ŠUDUN *Še*-NAM-*in-da-a*^{ki} *iš*$_{11}$*-a-ru* (Gelb and Kienast, FAOS 7, p. 52 D-14); [... *n*]*a-g*[*áb* IDIGNA]. ⌜ÍD⌝ [... *n*]*a-g*[*áb* UD.KIB].NUN.ÍD [*ik-su-u*]*d-ma* (Frayne, RIME 2, pp. 139-40 Naram-Sin 29 rev. 3'-7').

[79] Gelb and Kienast, FAOS 7, pp. 92-93 Narāmsîn 5; Frayne, RIME 2, pp. 128-29 Naram-Sin 24. This stele fragment was found "by the well of a country home just east of Pir Hüseyn," its original place of origin possibly having been "the vicinity of the village of Ambar-Chai" or "Miyafarkin, a village about 75 km northeast of Diyarbakir" (Frayne, ibid., p. 128).

[80] For the history of the Hurro-Babylonian contacts in Ur III times, see W. W. Hallo, "Simurrum and the Hurrian Frontier," RHA 36 (1978) 71-83.

[81] See Michalowski in *Origin of Cities*, pp. 146-47; Zadok in *Kutscher Memorial Volume*, pp. 224-27.

intensified in the following two centuries, resulting in the appearance of discrete Hurrian kingdoms. By 2000 BC, northern Mesopotamia was thoroughly Hurrianized and firmly under Hurrian rule.

4. Since we have reached the end of the third millennium, I should stop at this point. However, before I conclude, I wish briefly to address one more issue. That issue, which takes us into the second millennium, is the question of the relationship between the third millennium Hurrian expansion and the development, at ca. 1600 BC, of a system of Hurrian states in the very same region. It is commonly thought that those later entities, though more formally advanced, were but direct descendants of the third millennium Hurrian states. However, I suspect that the situation was considerably more complicated. As our data seem to suggest, during the first three centuries of the second millennium the extent of Hurrian presence in northern Mesopotamia was dramatically curtailed. This development had clearly been caused by a massive migration into this region, but from the opposite direction, of Amorite tribes. As a result of this migration, many of the regions formerly held by the Hurrians, especially those in the southern zone, fell under the Amorite domination. The cases of Assyria and the Khabur triangle are excellent examples here.

Accordingly, the rise of the state of Mitanni at ca. 1600 BC must be explained as having been occasioned by either the re-emergence of the local Hurrian elements, which had clearly been in retreat for a few centuries, or—and this is the explanation I favor—by the migration of new Hurrian tribes.[82] This explanation may find support in the fact that, as the recent research has shown, the language of Mitanni, rather than representing standard Hurrian, as was thought before, is in fact a distinctive dialect.[83]

The assumption that the great Hurrian expansion of the middle second millennium was precipitated, at least in part, by the arrival of a new Hurrian group would perhaps also help to explain the presence of Indo-Iranian elements in the culture and religion of Mitanni.[84] Since those new arrivals would undoubtedly have originated in a region to

[82] This also appears to be the position of Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), p. 16, who posits, after the collapse of the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad, "a third, more powerful, incursion of a Hurrian-speaking population" (the two earlier incursions belonging to the Sargonic and the Ur III period respectively).

[83] See Wilhelm, *Amurru* 1, pp. 181-82.

[84] For this question, see Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, pp. 17-19; J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* (London, 1989), pp. 37-42, 51-55.

the north of the country from which the third millennium Hurrians had come from, a contact between this—geographically more distant—Hurrian branch and some group of Indo-Iranians is not impossible to visualize. Although this may not be the perfect solution, it is better than those which have previously been offered; for example, the suggestion that those influences resulted from an Indo-Iranian migration into the Hurrian territories, for which there is no shred of evidence.

7

The Earliest Evidences of the Hurrians Before the Formation of the Reign of Mittanni

Mirjo Salvini
Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, Roma

The Mesopotamian plain is bound to the north and east by the mountain ranges of the eastern Taurus and the Zagros. In the vast fertile area of the foothills, from the second half of the third millennium, the Hurrian ethnic element begins to appear. We may rely on two kinds of sources in reconstructing the earliest history of the Hurrians, a non-Semitic and non-Indo-European people: historical accounts of the Sumerian-Semitic civilizations and documents of the local political formations. Both are written at the beginning in Sumerian-Akkadian cuneiform script which, from the third millennium on, represented an universal means of communication. In fact, at a very early date the Hurrians began to write their historical records also in their own language. Having entered the cultural sphere of the Mesopotamian civilizations, the Hurrians, from the very start, can be seen to have had a bilingual culture: Sumero-Akkadian and Hurrian.

The first documents registering their existence are names of people connected with political formations and place-names which provide material for historical geographical research.

The Old Akkadian Period
Taḫiš-atili of Azuḫinum

The earliest mention of a Hurrian sovereign dates to the period of the Empire of Akkad (24th-22nd centuries B.C.). A certain Taḫiš-atili of Azuḫinum is cited in a year name of Narām-sîn (2254-2218 B.C.): "Year in which Narām-sîn was victorious over

the land of Subir in Azuḫinum and took prisoner Taḫiš-atili."[1] The region of Subir (in Sumerian, Subartu in Akkadian) in sources of the third millennium is a vast area stretching from the Euphrates to the region of Kirkuk at the foot of the Zagros.[2] The place-name Azuḫinum also appears in another Akkadian text which we know from a much later Old Babylonian copy from Nippur.[3] This is the chronicle of a military campaign, probably by Narām-sîn himself, towards the region to the east of the Tigris with, in all likelihood, an incursion to the west of the river. Old Babylonian documents from Mari and Tell ar-Rimah also mention Azuḫinum,[4] but its actual location is controversial. Some place it at Uzuḫinum, a stage on the Old Assyrian route between Aššur and Kaniš in Cappadocia,[5] which is to be sought to the north of Djebel Sindjar on the very eastern edges of the Syrian Djezireh. It has also been suggested that it should be identified with Tell al-Hawâ, between Tell Hamukar and the Tigris.[6] According to J.-R. Kupper, Azuḫinum is to be found in the Habur triangle.[7]

The texts of Nuzi also mention a city of Azuḫinni[8] which is identified with Kuk Tepe to the north of Kirkuk.[9] This corresponds to Arzuḫina of a Middle Assyrian text[10] which suggest a location along the Little Zab and it is there, in fact, that the map TAVO B II 8.1 ("The Empire of Akkade") places the third millennium city of Azuḫinum.

[1] B. Foster, ASJ 4 42, N.8, 22-24; W. G. Lambert, RA 77, 1983, 95; I. J. Gelb-B. Kienast, Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr., Stuttgart 1990 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 7), 51 s. Narām-sîn 6). Both the components of the personal name Taḫiš-atili are Hurrian: -atili is an archaic form of -atal , a very common element in PN, and means apparently "strong" (E. Laroche, Glossaire de la langue hourrite, Paris 1980 [= GLH] 35, s.v. adali. The translation depends on the correct interpretation of a synonym list: see CAD A I 94f. and G s.v. gašru). As for the first element we can recognize the same root of the substantive taḫe "man" (GLH 251) enlarged with a suffix -iš, which should be the same of the PN Tupk=iš (see below note 27).

[2] RGTC 1, 147; 2, 175, 3, 224 s.

[3] P. Michalowski, ZA 76 (1986), 4-11.

[4] RGTC 3, 27s.: add ARM XXVI/2, 431, 435, 437.

[5] RGTC 4, 131s.

[6] RGTC 4 (Kh. Nashef), 132. Its position is marked on the maps TAVO B II, Mesopotamien in altbabylonischer Zeit, 12.1 "Besiedlung" and B III 7, Babylonien und Assyrien in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.

[7] RHA 36, 1978, 124.

[8] RGTC 10, 66s.

[9] See again map TAVO B II 12.

[10] RGTC 5, 40.

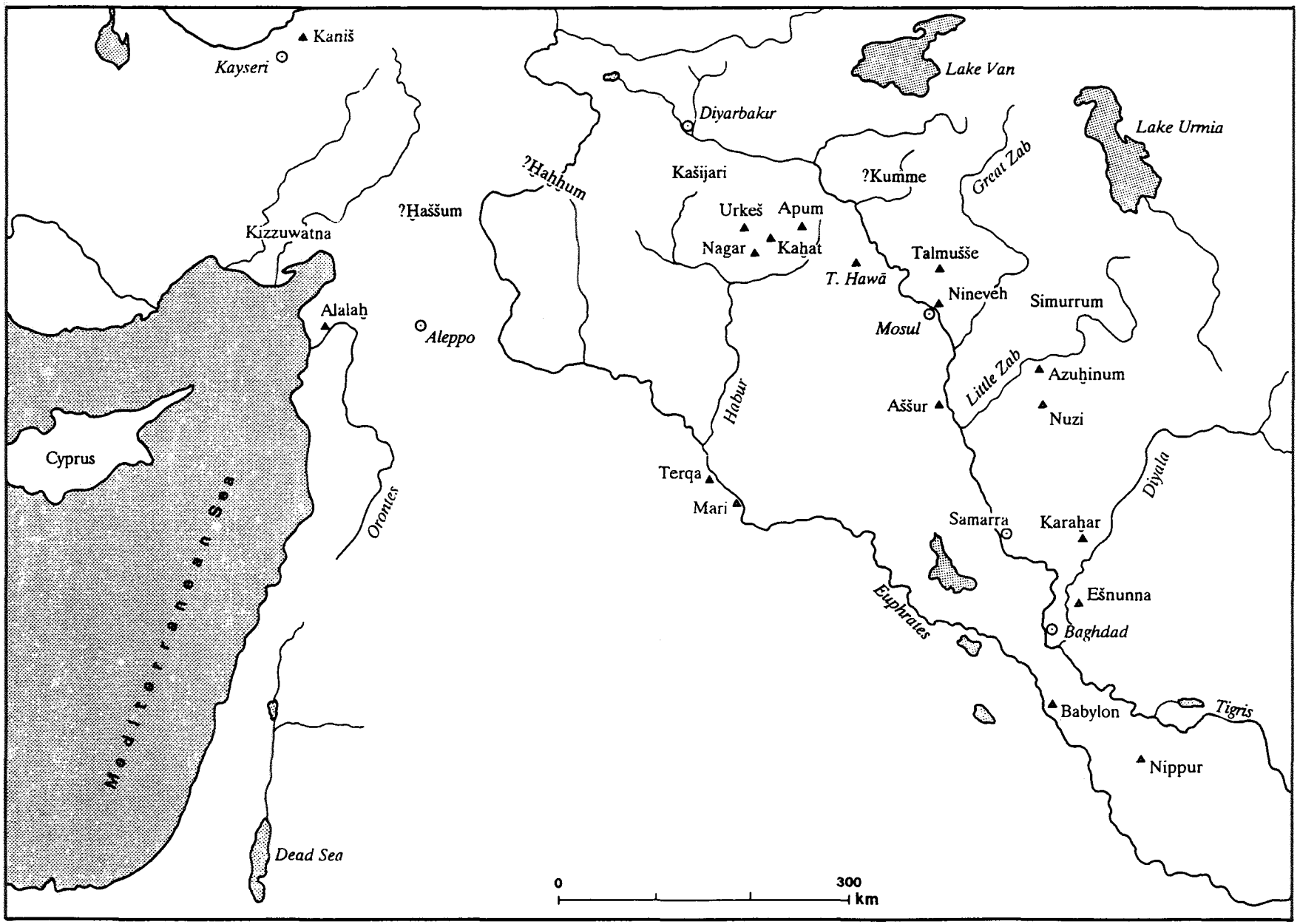


Fig. 1. The Hurrian centers of the third and second millennium B.C. in Upper Mesopotamia.

The evident contradiction between the sources cited above can only be resolved if we separate the information from Nuzi from that of the Old Babylonian tradition and propose the existence of two homophone place-names located in two different regions. A. Fadhil, in his study of the topography of Arrapḫa,[11] maintains that there is only one toponym with this name throughout the eras, but it seems impossible to reconcile the position of Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Uzuḫinum with the Azuḫinni of Nuzi and the Middle Assyrian Arzuḫina.

We may have an analogous example in the case of Tarmanni, the name of two separate cities, one of which—according to the Mari texts—would be in the region of the Ida-Maraṣ (roughly speaking, the river basin of the Habur in the northern Djezireh), the other in the land of Alalaḫ.[12] The example may also be given of Razama which, in the Old Babylonian era, denotes two distinct cities.[13]

The difficulty lies, however, in deciding whether the city of the Hurrian prince Taḫiš-Atili should be identified with the site to the west of the Tigris or with that in the region of Nuzi. If one accepts the hypothesis of a number of homonymous Hurrian place names in various regions starting from the second half of the third millennium, this could suggest that Hurrian penetration into the area of the foothills had started even earlier. This question must be borne in mind since we are dealing with the earliest Hurrian toponym known to date.[14]

Kirašeniwe and Puttim-adal
A City and a King of Šimurrum

Of an equally early date is the Hurrian place name Kirašeniwe, a city of Šimurrum, also mentioned in a year-name of Narām-Sîn[15] and which must have lain at the foot of the Zagros in the upper reaches of the Little Zab.[16] This may be analyzed as follows:

[11] BaF 6 (1983) 67ss.

[12] The name means "spring, fountain" in the Hurrian language; cf. J.-R. Kupper, RHA 36, 1978, 123, n. 43. See also M. Salvini, SMEA 14, 1971, 171-183.

[13] RGTC 3, 197.

[14] The suffix -ḫini or -ḫina indicates a Hurrian character; on this suffix in certain nouns attested in the Akkadian period, see the study by I. J. Gelb, Fs. Friedrich, Heidelberg 1959, 183ss.

[15] Gelb-Kienast, op. cit. p. 51: Narām-sîn 5 a.

[16] See map TAVO B II 8.1.

kiraše=ni=we, showing the adjective kiraši, "lengthened"[17]—or the personal name, Keraše[18]—the identifying suffix -ni and the genitive -we. Place names deriving from personal names in the genitive form with -we are frequent at Nuzi in the fifteenth century.[19]

In effect, Šimurrum is one of those political formations of the foothill region which is considered the gateway to Hurrian territory.[20] An Old Babylonian source, historically related to the Old Babylonian legend of Narām-Sîn, gives Šimurrum a king with the Hurrian name Puttim-adal,[21] which should probably read *Puttum=atal.[22] Whilst the second part of this name is well known, the first may be connected to puttukki (Mit. III 60), meaning "achievement."[23]

Nippur

Another text indirectly testifying to contacts with the Hurrians in the Akkadian period is the white marble tablet found at Nippur and held at the University Museum of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) and published by I. J. Gelb.[24] This contains a list of clothing (note the Hurrian terms ḫišelu=ḫina, zimze=ḫina and 'aku=ḫina) offered by a lady named Tupin to a lord of the obviously Hurrian name Šeḫrin-ipri. We cannot know whether there were high-ranking Hurrian prisoners of war at Nippur in this early period (given the quality of the text) or whether we are dealing with a forwarding of clothing from a Hurrian land of upper Mesopotamia or the Zagros area. However, the wars of Narām-Sîn provide the historical framework in which to place this document.

[17] E. Laroche, GLH 143. Remember the Latin city of Alba Longa.

[18] NPN 223.

[19] RGTC 10, 1993 (J. Finke), passim: we are not merely dealing with the genitive of PN. Cf. Tupšarri=we / Tupšarri=ni=we, RGTC 10, 302. An early Hurrian place-name, also formed with the genitive suffix is Zipuḫuliwe, found on the tablet from Kültepe kt k/k 4, a letter sent by a certain Eḫli-Addu to one Unapše: K. Hecker, SCCNH 8, 1996, 294, l.14; G. Wilhelm, ibid. 342 f.

[20] W. W. Hallo, *Šimurrum and the Hurrian Frontier*, RHA XXXVI, 1978, 71-83.

[21] A. K. Grayson-E. Sollberger, *L'insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen*, RA 70, 1976, 103-128.

[22] Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, 55.

[23] Cf. Chr. Girbal, ZA 78, 1988, 130.

[24] Fs. Friedrich 1959, 183ss.

Tell Brak/Nagar and Tell Mozan/Urkesh

The written material found in sites of northern Mesopotamia, corresponding to places inhabited by Hurrians from the third millennium on, belongs to the second category of sources.

From Tell Brak we have the seal impression of a Hurrian person who was called "Talpuš-atili,[25] sun of the land of Nagar, son of x." The date suggested by D. Matthews and J. Eidem, who published the seal, varies from the end of the Akkadian period to that immediately following.[26] For the consequences on the historical geography of the region, see below.

To this picture of the Old Akkadian Period must be added the recent discoveries made by Giorgio and Marilyn Buccellati at Tell Mozan with the first documents from the archive of "Tupkiš, endan Urkeš^{KI}."[27] The two Akkadian texts found during the 1990 campaign[28] provided already interesting onomastic material. At least one personal name is certainly Hurrian and of a "classical" type. This is Unap-šeni, known from other archives.[29] Un=a=p-šeni is a phrase-name which means "The brother has come," like Akkadian Aḫu-illika. In later archives this name is also found in the abbreviated version Unapše.[30] But the new material adds very important elements to the Hurrian problem. The title of endan, worn by Tupkiš on the Mozan sealings, is already known from the famous document of "Tiš-atal, endan of Urkeš" (see below). This title is not attested elsewhere. The only comparable terms are ^{Mí}entanni, meaning "priestess" and the epithet entašši[31] of the goddess Ḫebat in Hittite-Hurrian texts in the Kizzuwatna cultural area, Cilicia/Cappadocia of the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries,[32] but the connection is not sure.

[25] Again, an archaic form of -atal, "the strong."

[26] D. Matthews and J. Eidem, "Tell Brak and Nagar," *Iraq* LV, 1993, 201-207.

[27] See the excursus on the Hurrian personal name Tupkiš in : G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *WZKM* 86, 1996, 84-86.

[28] Published by Lucio Milano, *Mozan 2. The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*, Malibu 1991, 23f.

[29] Already in the Old Akkadian period this is attested in the form Ú-[n]a-ap-šè-na (šena "brother" without the individualizing -ni): BiMes 1 (A. Westenholz), 1975, N°47 V 4.

[30] Letter kt k/k 4 from level Kaniš Ib is addressed to an individual of this name, Ú-na-ap-šé. See K. Hecker, SCCNH 8, 1996, 291-303. Analysis of personal names by G. Wilhelm, ibid, 335f.

[31] Cf. M.-C. Trémouille, *^{d}Ḫebat, une déesse syro-anatolienne*, Florence 1997, Chapter 4.3.1.

[32] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, Paris 1980 (= GLH), 82.

Together with other considerations noted by G. and M. Buccellati, it assures the identification of Tell Mozan with the Hurrian city of Urkeš.[33] From the point of view of his function, it seems clear that such a title (endan) must be equated with that of "king," and the new evidence from Tell Mozan corroborates this. The queen's seals with the legends Uqnītum DAM Tupkiš "Uqnītum, the wife of Tupkiš," and Uqnītum NIN "Uqnītum, the queen,"[34] provide the definite proof that Tupkiš was the king of Urkeš, the oldest Hurrian king of Urkeš that we know.

The onomastic data shows that, even from this early period, the Hurrians lived in the northern stretches of Mesopotamia alongside the Semitic people and other, unknown populations which we may call Subareans, although this is essentially a geographic concept in the view of the southern Mesopotamian countries.

This is the evidence of the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia in the Old Akkadian Period; they are the pieces in a still mainly incomplete mosaic which do not enable us to have a precise idea about the question of the origin of the Hurrians. The generic idea of their provenance from the mountains north of Mesopotamia is only supported by their linguistic kinship with the Urartians of the first millennium B.C., who lived on the plateau around lake Van.[35]

The Late Third Millennium
Atal-Šen of Urkesh and Nawar

For the Post Akkadian period we have well-known documents—original pieces—going back directly to Hurrian sovereigns, but unfortunately not coming from regular excavations. The earliest historical record (excluding the sealings mentioned above) relating to a Hurrian sovereign (LUGAL) is the bronze tablet "of Samarra" in the Louvre (AO 5678), the name coming from the city where it was bought, its origin being unknown. This was published in 1912 by Thureau-Dangin[36] who dated it to the Old

[33] G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Identification of Urkesh with Tell Mozan (Syria)," *Orient Express* 1995/3, Cover Page and 67-70. See also below.

[34] G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing*, AfO XLII-LXIII (1995/1996), 1-32.

[35] See, on the Urartian culture, M. Salvini, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, Darmstadt 1995.

[36] RA 9, 1912, 1-4. For attestations of Nuzi, see NPN, 272.

Akkadian period. It was recently studied again by G. Wilhelm[37] who dates it later, to the period either preceding or at the very start of the Ur dynasty.

The text is written in the Akkadian language:

> "To Nergal, king (LUGAL) of Ḫawalum, Atal-šen, the worthy shepherd, the king (LUGAL) of Urkeš and of Nawar, the son of king Šatar-mat, builder (DIM) of the temple of Nergal, he who destroys his rivals. He who destroys this tablet, may Šamaš and Ištar eliminate their offspring. Šaum-šen did this."

This is the foundation tablet of a temple of Nergal, written by a Hurrian king, son of another Hurrian king. It is also the earliest document of the Hurrian dynasty known to us. The name of the scribe, Šaumšen, is also Hurrian.[38] In ša=u=m=šen, apart from -šen, "brother," we can identify the root ša-, common to both the noun "weapon" (šauri) and the name of Šawuška, the Hurrian Ištar.[39]

It is difficult to establish the location of Ḫawalum, where the sanctuary of Nergal was built, although its identification with the Old Babylonian Kawila has been proposed, probably in the western part of the Habur triangle.[40]

Tiš-atal of Urkeš

The place-name Urkeš recurs in another, famous text. The foundation document of Tiš-atal, endan of Urkeš, inscribed on a stone tablet held between the paws of a bronze lion (Louvre AO 19937-38) is the earliest known document in the Hurrian language.[41] The same text is repeated on the bronze plaque of the statuette but is poorly conserved. A twin statuette is to be found in the Metropolitan Museum[42] but the stone tablet is

[37] In: V. Haas, ed., "Hurriter und Hurritisch," *Xenia 21*, Konstanz 1988, 47.

[38] The same kind of personal name as Pus=u=m=šen (Ur III period), cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, 111.

[39] See the analysis ša=wuš=k=a given by Ilse Wegner in Xenia 21, Konstanz 1988, 150. For the verbal suffix =u=m(=o=m) in personal names, see G. Wilhelm, Fs. K. Heger, Heidelberg 1992, 667 f.

[40] RGTC 1, 71.

[41] A. Parrot-J. Nougayrol, *Un document de fondation hourrite*, RA 42, 1948, 1-20. See also the article by G. Wilhelm in the present volume.

[42] O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1988, 374-377; "Comments on the Urkish Lion Pegs," in *Mozan 1*, 1988, pp. 93-99.

missing. It is clear that the two foundation deposits come from the same building that has to be looked for on Tell Mozan. The translation is:

> "Tiš-atal, endan of Urkeš, has built a temple for Nergal. May the god Lubadag (archaic form of Nupatik) protect it. He who destroys this temple, may Lubadag destroy. May the god...not hear his prayers. May the lady of Nagar (^{d}NIN na-gàr^{KI}), (the Sun god) Šimiga (^{d}UTU-ga-an) and the storm god (^{d}IŠKUR) curse ten thousand times he who destroys it."

The dating of this important document, which was initially dated to the end of the Akkadian period (Parrot and Nougayrol) has been altered to that of Ur III. Here I refer, above all, to an article by R. Whiting[43] who recalls two further texts relating to persons bearing the same name: Dišatal, king of Karaḫar (a region on the Diyala river) on a seal of Ur III (or proto-Isin-Larsa) in the de Clerq collection of the Louvre, and Tiš-atal, "the man of Nineveh" cited in an administrative document of Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) dating from the third year of Šū-sîn (2034 B.C. according to the middle chronology).

In effect, one cannot say that we are dealing with the same person, as D. Collon thinks,[44] but rather that the name was common throughout the lands inhabited by the Hurrians in the last century of the third millennium.

The city of Urkeš is known in the Hittite religious literature of Boğazköy as the land of Kumarbi, father of the Hurrian gods, who the Hittites associated with Enlil, head of the Sumerian pantheon.[45] However, we must note that the name of Kumarbi, who has a primary role in the Hurrian mythology of Hittite tradition, is not mentioned either in the "Samarra" Tablet of Atal-šen or in the Lion text of Tiš-atal. The first kings historically and epigraphically cited, as we have seen, are, instead, linked to the cult of Nergal, the god of the underworld to whom they apparently owed their political success in the north of Mesopotamia.

On the basis of the mentioned textual evidence, which is concentrated in the period of the Ur III dynasty, the city of Urkeš appears as the most important Hurrian center before the formation of the Mittanni reign, towards the middle of the second millennium. We also know—still in the Ur III period—the name of another Hurrian king connected with Urkeš. This is a certain Annatal.[46] The relative frequency of these attestations

[43] *Tiš-Atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šū-Sîn*, JCS 28 (1976) 173-182.

[44] RA 84, 1990, 129f.

[45] See H. G. Güterbock, RlA VI 1980-1983, 325-330 s.v. Kumarbi; V. Haas, Geschichte der hethitischen Religion, (Brill) 1994, 83f., 123f.

[46] Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* 114; RGTC 2, 224.

shows the importance of this political and religious center which was connected to the Hurrians. In the Old Babylonian period, instead, Urkeš (Urgiš) would appear to have been completely immersed in the Semitic element and no names are known of Hurrians connected with the city. It has even been thought that this was a different city, and not that of Tiš-atal.[47]

The Identification of Urkeš with Tell Mozan and the Question of Nawar

Historical geographical studies in the North Djezireh received new input from the identification of Urkeš with Tell Mozan. G. Buccellati took up again the problem of the Urkeš documentation ten years ago,[48] correcting what had by then become the classic hypothesis which identified the tell with the city of ᶜAmūda, near the Turkish border. The absence of important traces of the third millennium, however, has led to excluding the identification with the so-called Tell ᶜAmūda, whose name is in reality Tell Shermola.[49] Buccellati instead suggested that Urkeš is to be identified with the site of Mozan,[50] the most important tell in the region of ᶜAmūda giving evidence of the third millennium. The rest—the discovery of many hundreds of clay bullae with sealings of Tupkiš, endan of Urkeš—is recent history.[51]

The question of Urkeš and its now certain identification with Tell Mozan, however, provides a precise reference point for the reconstruction of the historical geography of northern Mesopotamia. And here we return to the problem of the location of Nawar and, therefore, the extent of the reign of Atalšen and, secondly, the equation Nawar = Nagar. On the bronze tablet of Samarra, Atal-šen is named "king of Urkeš and of Nawar" whilst the document of Tiš-atal, "endan of Urkeš" cites, in the curse, the "lady of Nagar."[52]

[47] G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 12.

[48] *Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (BiMes 20) 1988, 29f.

[49] V. a. X. Faivre, "Le Tell d'Amuda," in *Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 2* (1992) 113-150. The results of the 1986 sounding revealed the absence of occupation during the III millennium.

[50] D. Charpin, instead, is skeptical, *M.A.R.I.* 7 (1993) 165 n.1.

[51] G. Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, "The Identification of Urkesh with Tell Mozan," *Orient-Express* 1995/3, 67-70; *AfO* 42-43 (1995-96) 1-36; *WZKM* 86, 1996 (Fs. H. Hirsch), 65-99.

[52] Belet Nagar is venerated also by the prince of Kaḫat who sends a letter to Till-Abnû of Šeḫnā (Tell Leilan), see J. Eidem, RA 85, 1991, 125.

The cult of this goddess in the Habur region is fairly ancient and she is mentioned in a pre-Sargonic text from Mari as ^{d}NIN Na-gàr^{KI}.[53]

But is what has been noted so far enough to prove the identity of the two place names? In the first volume of RGTC, Edzard, Farber and Sollberger declare themselves in favor of this identification whilst, in the third volume of the series, B. Groneberg[54] does not consider it possible. This is an important point since Tell Brak has produced the seal of "Talpuš-atili, sun of the land of Nagar." At this point, if Nawar is Nagar and if Nagar coincides with Tell Brak, we have two exact coordinates for putting on the map this first Hurrian reign over which Atal-šen, "king of Urkeš and Nawar," ruled.

Nawar may be interpreted as a Hurrian place-name connected with the verb root naw- "to graze" with the iterative suffix -ar-,[55] as well as with the deverbal substantive nauni- "pasture."[56] It is, however, quite frequent as an element in Hurrian names in all the archives and in all periods: Mari, Rimah, Alalaḫ, Ugarit, etc.[57] See, for example, Ḫašim-nawar in Old-Assyrian Kaniš.[58] The presence of names such as Nawar-kanazi, Nawar-nišḫi and Nawar-tupki at Chagar-Bazar is especially interesting.[59]

The fact that Nawar is used in the personal names, as is the case of Kumme,[60] shows that Nawar was, like Urkeš, above all a place of cult. Eidem quotes a text from Ur III which mentions a Nawar-šen, priest of Ninḫursag, man of Nawar.[61] This confirms the link between that place name and the Hurrian ethnic element.

But we know of a treaty between the king of Apum (Leilan) and the king of Kaḫat (Tell Barri)[62] which adds a new element. There were two, contemporary cities of Nawar, since the reign of Kaḫat is defined as the land "between Nawar and Nawar"! It is likely, as Eidem believes, that one was to the south and the other to the north of Tell

[53] J.-M. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 1987, 79, 20 II 4.

[54] RGTC 3, 176, s.v. - ^{Ml}nawaritam, nisbe at Mari.

[55] G. Wilhelm, *Amurru* 1, 1996, 178.

[56] Cited by G. Wilhelm, Or. 61, 1992, 132.

[57] J. Eidem, in note 6 of his article, cites many texts from Mari and Nuzi.

[58] RGTC 4, 56.

[59] AOAT 3, 23.

[60] RlA VI, 1980-83, s.v. Kumme (W. Röllig).

[61] Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 113.

[62] L87-1362+, cf. J. Eidem, AAAS XXXVII-XXXVIII (1987-88) 116.

Barri. If the one lying to the south is to be identified with Tell Brak, that to the north may well be identified with the Nawali mentioned in the texts from Tell Leilan (Nawala/u at Mari) which, in turn, would be the Neo Assyrian Nabula, located at Girnavaz.[63] This should be identified with the Nawar of the Atalšen inscription.

It could be useful to refer to the Hurrian literary tradition of Boğazköy, still the richest to date. In a Hurrian magical text of the category itkalzi ("purification of the mouth"),[64] the sacred cities of Talmušše,[65] Nineveh, Urkeš and Nawar are mentioned, the last two in the form ^{URU}Urkini(n) and ^{URU}Nawari,[66] and associated with the names of mountains: Nawari with Kašijari ($^{ḪUR.SAG}$Gašijarri-), therefore with modern Ṭūr-ᶜAbdīn, and Urkini with another, unknown mountain called Napri.

If Nawar and the Kašijari/Ṭūr-ᶜAbdīn were not far from each other, as suggested by the Boğazköy text, we must opt for a location with a site in northern Djezireh (Girnavaz or some other) rather than with Tell Brak. This latter, however, is still the best candidate for Nagar, the earliest evidence of which dates back to the pre-Sargonic texts.[67] The city was an extremely important center in the third millennium and is mentioned numerous times in the Ebla texts.[68]

An Old Akkadian tablet from Tell Brak gives the neighboring powers of the time: Nagar^{KI}, Ur-keš^{KI}, and Šeḫna (written Šuḫna) i.e. Tell Leilan, as well as Lilabšinum.[69] In the Old Babylonian period the city is known mainly as the seat of the cult of the "lady of Nagar" who was worshipped from Kaḫat to Šubat-Enlil.[70]

[63] V. Donbaz, SAAB 2, 1988, 5.

[64] ChS I/1, N°5 col.I-II, with duplicate N°6 col. I.

[65] RGTC 5, 258.

[66] In the same form in the Hurrian Old Babylonian tablet from Mari 2: F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 36, 1939, 5.

[67] RGTC 1, 125.

[68] Cf. A. Archi-P. Piacentini-F. Pomponio, I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla (ARES II), Roma 1993, 391-395.

[69] Cf. the new reading of AOAT 3/1, 69, given by A. Catagnoti and M. Bonechi, N.A.B.U. 1992, 65, of the text studied by K. Kessler in SMEA 24, 1984, 22-23.

[70] We know from a letter (L87-1317) of the prince of Kaḫat Ea-Malik to the king of Apum (Tell Leilan), Till-Abnû (post-Mari period): J. Eidem, RA 85-1991, 125.

These facts lead one to agree with J. Eidem's conclusion which connects Atal-šen—the author of the bronze tablet of Samarra—with a small reign in the northern part of the Habur triangle.

The ethnic-political picture in the last quarter of the third millennium is, therefore, that of a Hurrian presence organized into small states in the northern Habur which form a co-ordinated system. The presence of a Hurrian sovereign at Tell Brak (Talpuš-atili of Nagar) would appear to interrupt the Akkadian domination in the Habur region. This would also explain the veneration which Tiš-atal of Urkeš, the builder of the temple of Nergal, had for the goddess of Nagar. The sanctuaries, at the end of the third millennium, would appear to have been important points of reference for the Hurrian populations. This situation will be repeated in south-eastern Anatolia in the second half of the second millennium around the religious center of Kummanni in Kizzuwatna.[71]

At the same time as Ur III we know of a series of names of Hurrians[72] linked to centers that can be located in the foothill area of the eastern Taurus and the Zagros. Apart from Urkeš and Nawar, these are Mardaman,[73] Urbilum (=Arbela), Šimanum, Šimurrum (on the upper reaches of the Little Zab), Talmuš, a city north of Nineveh also mentioned in the Middle Assyrian texts as Talmuše/-ššu.[74]

The Old Babylonian Period

For the following, Old Babylonian period, the Mari texts have long revealed a series of sovereigns and Hurrian principalities in the region of the northern Djezireh.[75] Further elements are added thanks to new excavations being carried out: a fragment of a treaty found at Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil) gives us the name of the Hurrian prince Ḫazip-Teššup of Razama, to the north of Tell-ar-Rimah (region of the Sindjar).[76] Again from the Tell

[71] RlA VI, 1980-83, s.v. Kummanni (H. Otten).

[72] I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, 112ff.

[73] Its identification with Mardin is uncertain: see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens* (Beihefte zum TAVO, Reihe B, Nr. 26), Wiesbaden 1980, 63f., RGTC 4 27.

[74] RGTC 5, 258.

[75] J.-R. Kupper, RHA XXVIII 1978, 123.

[76] J. Eidem, in: Mélanges Garelli, Paris 1991, 185 n.2.

Leilan texts, we know of a certain Ewri[77]—whose name is the same as the Hurrian noun for "lord"—and of a Ḫawur(ni)-atal, king of Nawali.[78] This city perhaps corresponds with the Neo-Assyrian Nabula (=Girnavaz, north of Qamishli in Turkish territory).[79] Names formed with the element -atal are particularly frequent in Hurrian personal names of the Old Babylonian period, cf. Kummen-atal, Kirip-atal, Pirḫen-atal, Šadum-atal, etc.[80]

The list of the Hurrian princes who ruled over cities in northern Mesopotamia, set down by J.-R. Kupper on the basis of the Mari texts, is extremely long and other names have been added since. We must not, however, think that all the political formations governed at a given time by a prince of Hurrian name were necessarily Hurrian. One need only think of Turum-natki, for example, king of Apum,[81] region of Tell Leilan which is certainly not to be considered a Hurrian state. Or of the name Kuwari or Kuari which we find, long before the archives of Nuzi,[82] at Mari, Chagar Bazar and in the archives of Tell Shemshara: Kuwari was the governor of Šušarra at the time of Šamšī-Adad I.[83]

For the same period we now also have another source on the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia which is beginning to furnish initial information. This is Kültepe and its most recent level, Ib. A tablet recently published by Karl Hecker, together with other interesting implications, bears witness to the Hurrians in the area of the upper Euphrates. It consists of a letter written by one Hurrian (Eḫli-Addu) to another (Unapše) who lives at Kaniš. The writer speaks of an undefined area in northern Syria, delimited by the quotation of Ḫaššu(m),[84] and also mentions a previously unknown place-name,

[77] He is the governor of a city in the land of Apum; cf. J. Eidem, AAAS XXXVII-XXXVIII (1987-88) 116, RA 85 (1991) 122s.

[78] J. Eidem, RA 85 (1991) 128.

[79] V. Donbaz, SAAB 2 (1988) 5.

[80] J. R. Kupper, in D. Charpin-F. Joannès (eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs (Mélanges Garelli)*, Paris 1991, 180. Another Hurrian personage at Leilan is Ki-le-eš-ew-ri, cf. M. van de Mieroop, Or 63, 1994, 305-344.

[81] J.-R. Kupper RHA 36, 1978, 125 ss. Cf. "Masum-atal, king of Alilanum," in J. Eidem, AAAS 37/38, 1987-88, 120, n. 29.

[82] NPN 228.

[83] Cf. J. Laessøe, *The Shemshara Tablets*, Kopenhagen 1959, 29.

[84] An identification with Maraş has been suggested: M. Forlanini, M. Marazzi, *Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico*, fasc. 4.3, Roma 1986.

Zipuḫuliwe, of clearly Hurrian meaning.[85] The identification of Ḫaššu(m) and Mama has been proposed by Forlanini[86] who believes that Aniš-ḫurpi/Anu-ḫarwi, king of Zalwar and of Ḫaššum, is the same as Anum-ḫirbi, known from his letter to Waršama of Kaniš.[87] We may therefore expect further documentation which will shed light on the role of the Hurrians between northern Syria and Anatolia at the time of Kaniš and Mari. It will be interesting to discover something of the predecessors of those Hurrians who were the feared enemies of Ḫattušili I in his expansionist policies towards the east.

The personal name Ku(w)ari, discussed above, provides new information regarding the question of the relations between the Hurrians of Syria and Anatolia. At Terqa documents dating to 1700 B.C. have been discovered which mention in year names the victory of a certain Kuari over the Hittites (ḫa-at-tu, ḫa-at-te, ḫa-at-tum).[88]

In general, we must conclude that the Hurrian ethnic element, in its lengthy period of integration in Semitic society, often succeeded in achieving high social rank, even the highest. This is an extremely important aspect which will have to be examined in future research.

The existence of population layers which spoke the Hurrian language is demonstrated by the Hurrian texts of the Old Babylonian period found at Mari. These are six tablets, five of which are incantation texts. The main god is Teššub of Kumme, the sanctuary town which must have been located in the region of the eastern Habur river. The gods of Kumme recur also in the sixth tablet[89] and the mention of Zimri-lim makes the date certain. This is probably a prayer directed by the king of Mari to the Hurrian storm god, written in the language of the god.

Kumme at that time was an important cult center of Teššup, but also a place of magical practices: Jan van Dijk[90] published Hurrian magical texts from southern Mesopotamia which mention names of Hurrian cities of the upper Tigris such as Kume-ni (=Kumme) and Talmušše. These are conjurations against the bite of a snake or of a

[85] G. Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 342 f. Cf. toponym Kirašeniwe, above.

[86] *Hethitica* VI, 1985, 54-55 and Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia (Pavia 28 June - July 1993), Pavia 1995, 125.

[87] K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish*, Ankara 1957.

[88] O. Rouault, SMEA 30, 1992, 247-256.

[89] M. Salvini, RA 82 (1988) 59-69.

[90] VS NF 1, Berlin 1971, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 20, 22, 26. See also the study by M.L. Chačikjan, "Iz starochurritskich zaklinanij," in *Drevnij Vostok* 2 (Erevan 1976), 251-264.

scorpion. The texts may be compared to those of Mari and, although we still have only a few examples, these show how widespread the Hurrian magical-religious literature was throughout the Near East.

The Mid Second Millennium

A recent publication offers new and complex documentation relating to the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia. The archives of a city called Tikunani, which came to light in unknown circumstances in a undefined area between the upper courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris, contain material on historical, linguistic and onomastic matters that are of primary importance.[91] The presence in these archives of a letter from the Great King of Hatti, Ḫattušili I (1640-1610 approx.) represents a synchronism of the greatest importance.[92] A considerable number of Hurrian personal names—apart from providing excellent linguistic material—reveal to us the constituency of that social layer defined by the term Ḫabiru. The Hurrians lived alongside the Semitic element, for which we also have many personal names, in a political formation governed by a Hurrian king, Tunip-Teššup. Although the majority of these texts are written in the Akkadian language, at least one is written in Hurrian and this demonstrates the bilingual culture of this north Mesopotamian reign.

As far as the Middle Babylonian period is concerned which, in northern Mesopotamia meant the domination of the Mittanni Empire, we must note that the search for the capital Waššukkanni has still not borne fruit. The site of Tell Brak, which was an important city also in this period, has furnished the first incomplete tablet, written entirely in the Hurrian language, from the ancient Mittanni territory.[93] This is dated to the fifteenth century, and thus before the "Mittanni letter."[94] The famous "Mittanni letter," that is the diplomatic letter written in the Hurrian language and sent by king Tušratta to the pharaoh Amenophis III, was found, as is known, at El Amarna.[95] We may, therefore, reasonably hope for the discovery of archives written in Hurrian in many other sites of

[91] M. Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, Rome 1996.

[92] M. Salvini, Una lettera di *Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum*, SMEA XXXIV, 1994, 61-80.

[93] Published by G. Wilhelm, *Iraq* 53 (1991) 159-168.

[94] Cf. D. Oates, ibid., 158.

[95] EA 24: see W. L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El Amarna*, Paris 1987, 139-151 (G. Wilhelm).

the Mittanni empire which, in the fourteenth century, included the whole of northern Mesopotamia and whose influence extended as far as the Mediterranean Sea.

The Hurrian texts from Tikunani (seventeenth century) and from Tell Brak (sixteenth century), although still isolated cases, show that the Hurrian scribal culture of the Mittanni Empire had an ancient tradition. This receives further confirmation from the very recent news of the existence of a "scribe who understands and reads Hurrian," who lived somewhere between eastern Anatolia and northern Syria at the time of Kaniš Ib (eighteenth century B.C.).[96]

[96] Cf. SCCNH 7, 1996, 303.

8

Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš

Gernot Wilhelm

Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg

Die 1948 von A. Parrot und J. Nougayrol veröffentlichte Bauinschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš[1] ist bis auf den heutigen Tag der älteste bekannte Text in hurritischer Sprache. Die Kalksteintafel, die diesen Text trägt, wurde zusammen mit der zugehörigen Bronzefigur eines Löwen[2] kurz zuvor vom Louvre erworben (AO 19937 [Löwenfigur] und AO 19938 [Tafel]); da als Herkunftsangabe "ᶜAmūda" genannt wurde,[3] galt bis vor

[1] A. Parrot / J. Nougayrol, "Un document de fondation hurrite," *RA* 42 (1948) 1-20; cf. auch A. Parrot, "Depot Hurrite de Fondation," *Musée de France*, mai 1948, 85-86; idem, "Aquisitions et inédits du Musée du Louvre," *Syria* 31 (1954) 11-13. — Frau Dr. Béatrice André-Salvini, Musée du Louvre, schulde ich herzlichen Dank für die Übersendung ausgezeichneter Photographien der Tišatal-Inschrift und für die freundliche Genehmigung, sie hier zu reproduzieren (Ill. 1-2; *PDS* 2.19-20).

[2] Beide Objekte wurden häufig abgebildet; cf. außer der *editio princeps* u.a. H. Schmökel, *Ur, Assur und Babylon*, Stuttgart 1955, Tf. 43; A. Parrot, *Sumer*, L'univers des formes, Paris 1960, 182 f., fig. 220; deutsche Ausgabe: *Sumer und Akkad*, München ⁴1983, 208, Abb. 198; P. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1976, 42 ff., 132 fig. 64; B. André-Leicknam, in: *Naissance de l'écriture* [Katalog einer Ausstellung in den] Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 7 mai - 9 août 1982, Paris ⁴1982, 102. Zur kunstgeschichtlichen Einordnung cf. D. Parayre, "L'attribution de sculptures aux Hurrites, critique méthodologique" in: *Méthodologie et Critiques: I. Problèmes concernant les Hurrites*, Paris 1977, 126 mit Lit.; D. Collon, *RA* 84 (1990) 135.

Ein zweiter Löwe, jedoch ohne Tafel, wurde zu derselben Zeit auf dem Pariser Kunstmarkt angeboten (s. Parrot / Nougayrol, l.c., 2) und gelangte in das Metropolitan Museum New York (MMA 48.180); s. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Small Sculptures in Bronze*, New York 1950, 6; O. W. Muscarella, "Comments on the Urkish Lion Pegs," in: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (BibMes 20), Malibu 1988, 93-99 (mit Bibliographie zu den "Urkeš-Löwen").

[3] W. J. van Liere, "Urkiš, centre religieux hurrite retrouvé dans la haute Jezireh Syrienne," *AAS* 7 (1957) 91-94.

kurzem der Tell dieses Ortes als Herkunftsort und wurde dementsprechend mit der Stadt des Tišatal, Urkeš identifiziert.[4] Man mußte daher lange Zeit damit rechnen, daß die bedeutende Residenzstadt der ältestbekannten hurritischen Dynastie, gleichzeitig das Zentrum des Kultes des hurritischen "Göttervaters" Kumarbi, für eine weitere Erforschung verloren sei, denn durch Erdentnahme ist der Ruinenhügel im Südwesten des heutigen Städtchens, als dessen Namen G. und M. Buccellati "Tell Širmōla" ermittelt haben,[5] in den letzten Jahrzehnten bis auf einen Kernblock weitgehend verschwunden. In dieser Hinsicht hat sich nun eine erfreulichere Perspektive eröffnet, nachdem durch archäologische Untersuchungen seit 1983 deutlich geworden ist, daß der Tell Širmōla keine bedeutenden Schichten des 3. Jts. v.Chr. enthält,[6] und nachdem sich durch die Siegelfunde des Jahres 1994 die Hypothese einer Gleichsetzung von Urkeš mit dem Tell Mōzān, die für die Auswahl des letzteren Grabungsortes bestimmend war,[7] glänzend bestätigt hat.

Die Datierung der Inschrift ist unklar, doch gilt inzwischen als sicher, daß die von den Erstbearbeitern vorgeschlagene Datierung in die frühe Akkade-Zeit oder gar in die ausgehende frühdynastische Zeit zugunsten einer späteren Datierung in die Gutäer- oder Ur III-Zeit, aufzugeben ist.[8]

Ein in den Grundzügen richtiges Verständnis der Inschrift konnte schon Nougayrol erzielen, auch wenn ihm die Grammatik des Textes bei dem damaligen Stand der Erforschung der hurritischen Sprache in mancher Hinsicht unklar bleiben mußte. Die Inschrift ist verschiedentlich ganz oder auszugsweise transliteriert und/oder übersetzt worden. Insbesondere zu nennen ist die Behandlung des Textes durch I.M. Diakonoff.[9] Eine

[4] Einen Zweifel brachte allerdings schon früh B. Hrouda, *MDOG* 98 (1967) 54, zum Ausdruck.

[5] G. Buccellati, "Scope of the research," in: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (BibMes 20), Malibu 1988, 36.

[6] G. Buccellati, in: G. Buccellati & M. Buccellati-Kelly, op.cit., 36 f., G. L. Bunnens & A. Roobaert, ibid. 90-92; X. Faivre, "Le tell d'Amouda," in: J.-M. Durand, *Recherches en Haute Mésopotamie, Tell Mohammed Diyab, Campagnes 1990 et 1991* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 2), Paris 1992, 133-150.

[7] G. Buccellati & M. Buccellati-Kelly, op.cit., 23 f.; cf. auch G. Buccellati & M. Buccellati-Kelly, *AfO* 42/43 (1995/96) 1-32.

[8] I. J. Gelb, "New Light on Hurrians and Subarians," in: *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Roma 1956, 379 ff.; R.W. Whiting, "Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin," *JCS* 28 (1976) 173-177.

[9] I. M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*, München 1971, 110 f., n. 123.

Übersetzung hat auch der Verfasser dieser Zeilen geliefert.[10] Die letzte vollständige Bearbeitung stammt von I.J. Gelb und B. Kienast.[11]

Die Entdeckung einer hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue 1983 in Boğazköy hat zahlreiche neue Einsichten zur Grammatik des älteren Hurritischen ermöglicht, die auch für die Analyse der Tišatal-Inschrift von Wichtigkeit sind. Eine neue Behandlung des Textes erscheint daher nicht überflüssig.

Der im folgenden gebotene Wortlaut folgt der Kalksteintafel ohne Berücksichtigung der Reste der überwiegend wohl gleichlautenden Inschriften auf den Löwenfiguren.[12]

Vs.	1	*Ti-iš-a-tal*
	2	*en-da-an*
	3	*ur-kèš*^{ki}
	4	*pu-ur-li*
	5	^{d}*Nergal*(KIŠ.GAL)
	6	*ba-*$^{\supset}$*à-áš-tum*
	7	*pu-ru-li*
	8	*a-ti* $^{\supset}$*à-al-li*
	9	^{d}*Lu-ba-da-ga-áš*
	10	*ša-ak-ru-in*
	11	*e-me-ni*
u.Rd.	12	*da-áš-bi* $^{\supset}$*à-al-li*
	13	^{d}*Lu-ba-da-ga-áš*
Rs.	14	*da-áš-pu-in*
	15	DINGIR-*[š]Ú*$^{?!}$
	16	*ḫa-*$^{\lceil}$*wa-*$^{\supset}$*à*$^{\rceil}$*-a*
	17	*ḫa-šu-*$^{\lceil}$*e*$^{\rceil}$*-in*
	18	^{d}NIN $^{\lceil}$*na-gàr*$^{\rceil ki}$
	19	^{d}UTU-*ga-an*
	20	$^{d\lceil}$IŠKUR$^{\rceil}$

[10] G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 15 (engl. Übersetzung: T*he Hurrians*, Warminster 1989, 11).

[11] I. J. Gelb† / B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v.Chr.* (FAOS 7), Stuttgart 1990, 382.

[12] S. hierzu Muscarella, l.c., 94, 95 n. 4.

21 *e-me-ni*
22 *da-áš-bi* ᵓà-al'(TA)-*li*
o.Rd. 23 *in-u-be*
l.Rd. 24 *i-na-u-be*
25 *ši-ti-in*

Der Text kann folgendermaßen übersetzt werden:

(1) [1]Tiš-atal, [2]der endan von [3]Urkeš, hat [4]einen Tempel des [5]Nergal [6]gebaut.
(2) [8]Diesen [7]Tempel –, [8]den [10]möge [9]Lubadag [10]schützen.
(3) [11]Wer (ihn) [12]zerstört, den [14]möge [13]Lubadag [14]vernichten.
(4) [15][Sei]n? Gott [17]möge [16]sein Gebet [17]nicht hören.
(5) [18]Die Herrin von Nagar, [19]Šimiga [20]und der Wettergott –, [21]wer (ihn) [22]zerstört, den [25]mögen sie [23-24]... [25]verfluchen.

I. 1: Tiš-atal. Nougayrol hatte sich für die Lesung "Tišari" mit dem Argument ausgesprochen, die Lesung *tal* für das Zeichen RI sei in der Akkad-Zeit nicht belegt. Auch spätere Autoren übernahmen diese Lesung[13] oder ließen die Entscheidung zwischen beiden Lesungen offen,[14] obwohl bereits frühzeitig hurritologisch ausgewiesene Gelehrte[15] der Lesung *tal* den Vorzug gegeben hatten, freilich ohne eine Begründung zu liefern. Heute kann in dieser Frage kein Zweifel mehr sein. Die Lesung *d/tal* in hurritischen PNn ist für die Ur III-Zeit gesichert.[16] In morphologischer Hinsicht ist eine Verbalform *ari* "er gibt" nicht in einem frühen hurr. PN zu erwarten, die entsprechende Form lautet vielmehr *ar=i=b*. In syntaktischer Hinsicht wäre die Position falsch, denn in Satznamen mit einer finiten Verbalform als Prädikat steht letztere in Anfangsposition. Der Name ist im späten 3. Jt. für mehrere Individuen bezeugt: *Ti-iš-a-tal* von Urkeš

[13] Diakonoff, *HuU* 111 n. 123.

[14] U.a. F.W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, Diss. Brandeis University 1964, 7; A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, Heidelberg 1968, 126; eadem, *AAASH* 22 (1974) 164 (statt "Kupfer" lies "Kalkstein;" streiche "Sohn des *Šá-dar-ma-at*"); anders eadem, *RlA* 4, 509; J. Friedrich, *Churritisch*, HdO, Leiden/Köln 1969, 2; E. Laroche, *GLH* 267.

[15] E. A. Speiser, "The Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine," *CHM* 1 (1953) 313 Anm. 10; I.J. Gelb, "New Light on Hurrians and Subarians" in: *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Roma 1956, 381.

[16] z.B. *Ḫa-ši-ba-da-al* N. Schneider, *Or* n.s. 18 (1925) 14: 1, neben *Ḫa-ši-ip-a-tal TCL* 2, 5488:2.

nach der hier behandelten Inschrift, *Ti-iš-a-tal* von Ninive[17] und ^{d}*Di-sa-a-tal* von Karaḫar.[18] Er verschwindet danach aber anscheinend ganz.[19] Eine Schreibung *-ta/da-al* ist m.W. für diesen Namen nicht bezeugt.

I. 2: Der Titel *endan* wurde von Nougayrol als Äquivalent zu akk. *šarru* aufgefaßt, da der andere damals bekannte Herrscher von Urkeš, Adal-šen, auf der sog. "Samarra-Tafel" den letzteren Titel trägt.[20] E. Laroche stellte einen Zusammenhang mit den $^{munus.meš}$*entanni-* in hethitischen Ritualen hurritischer Kulttradition her und leitete dies ebenso wie den Titel Tiš-atals von akk. *ēntu* "Hohepriesterin" ab.[21] Dieser Zusammenhang wurde zunächst weithin akzeptiert.[22] Auch I.M. Diakonoff folgte dieser Herleitung, nahm jedoch einen Genuswechsel auf dem Hintergrund des Fehlens grammatischer Genera im Hurritischen an ("Hoherpriester").[23] Durch die Abrollungen

[17] R. W. Whiting, *JCS* 28 (1976) 173.

[18] Siegel de Clercq Nr. 121.

[19] Der Name Teḫeš-atal (*Te-ḫe-eš-a-tal* Siegellegende BM 102055, Z. 3; cf. E. Sollberger, *AnSt* 30 (1980) 63; D. Collon, *CWASBM, Cylinder Seals* II, London 1982, Nr. 451) muß hiervon sicherlich getrennt werden (anders D. Collon, *RA* 84 [1990] 129-136); ihm liegt wohl die Wurzel *teg-* zugrunde, die in Namen wie Teḫip-Tilla (trans.-nicht-ergat.) und Teḫup-šenni (ergat., < *teg=o=m*) begegnet und inzwischen als Intransitivum in der hurr.-heth. Bilingue *KBo* 32, 14 IV 3 *te-ḫé-eš-tap* "er wuchs heran" bezeugt ist. Als Transitivum dürfte die Wurzel daher wohl "großziehen" bedeuten; cf. G. Wilhelm, "L'état actuel et les perspectives des études hourrites," in: J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. Dix ans de traveaux, première partie: Actes du colloque international, Paris, mai 1993* (Amurru 1), Paris 1996, 182; zu *teḫambašḫe* "Zahlung für das Aufziehen von Säuglingen" cf. J. Fincke, *SCCNH* 7 (1995) 6-12. Den in Ur III-zeitlichen Urkunden häufig belegten Namen des Schreibers Taḫiš-atal (s. R. Zadok, in: *kinattūtu ša dārâti, Memorial Volume Raphael Kutscher*, Tel Aviv 1993, 228 f.) und den Namen des akkadzeitlichen Königs von Azuḫinnum, Taḫiš-atili, (cf. W.G. Lambert, *RA* 77 (1983) 95; P. Michalowski, *ZA* 76 [1986] 9 n. 10) wird man zunächst davon getrennt halten müssen; cf. dazu auch *NPN* 261a sub taḫ. *tag-* ist als Verballexem bezeugt in dem Ur III-zeitlichen Namen *Da-ḫi-íw-wa-ta-al* (*Tag=i=b–Adal*); zu diesem cf. R. Zadok, l.c., 229. Das erste Element des Namens Tišatal könnte mit *tieš-* in Tieš-urḫe (*NPN* 266b) identisch sein, dessen Bedeutung unbekannt ist. (Etwa zu urart. *ti(a)-* "sprechen," auch *tini* "Name," hurr. *tive* "Wort, Sache?" Cf. dazu M. Salvini, in: W. Kleiss, *Bastam* II, Berlin 1979, 118 f.) Die Ähnlichkeit zu hurr. *tiža* "Herz" ist wohl nur zufällig.

[20] So auch M. Salvini, in: P. E. Pecorella / M. Salvini, *Tell Barri / Kahat 1*, Roma 1982, 25.

[21] E. Laroche, *RA* 54 (1960) 192 f.

[22] Cf. F. W. Bush, *GHL* 280 f., der hieraus sogar ein Argument gegen die Lesung *atal* ableitet, da Namen auf *-atal* nie Frauennamen sind; A. Kammenhuber, *Arier*, 126 (mit Vorbehalt), HW^2, E, 42; E. von Schuler, *UF* 3 (1971) 225 n. 9.

[23] I. M. Diakonoff, *Or* n.s. 41 (1972) 101; idem, *HuU* 111 n. 123: "Priester (Priesterin?)."

der Siegel des Tupkiš, *endan* Urkeš, und seiner Gattin Uqnītu aus Tell Mōzān ist nun deutlich geworden, daß *endan* der Titel eines Mannes, nicht einer Frau ist.

Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen erklärte *endan* als hurr. Nomen agentis auf *-dan*[24] und hielt eine Ableitung von sumer. en für ebensogut möglich wie eine von hurr. *eni* "Gott."[25] Nachdem inzwischen durch die Textfunde aus Ebla und Tell Beydar deutlich geworden ist, daß der sum. Herrschertitel en weit außerhalb Sumers bis in spätfrühdynastische Zeit in der Bedeutung "Stadtfürst" o.ä. verwendet wurde,[26] könnte man dazu neigen, der erstgenannten Ableitung den Vorzug zu geben. G. Buccellati wendet allerdings brieflich hiergegen ein, daß das Muster von *abuldanni* "Torwächter" als Ableitung von akk. *abullu* "Stadttor" dafür spreche, daß das Suffix einen Bezug herstelle: "the one in charge of the gate," und daß entsprechend *endan* als Ableitung von *eni* "Gottheit" im Sinne einer priesterlichen Funktion gedeutet werden könne ("derjenige der zuständig ist für die Gottheit"), während eine Ableitung von dem Herrschertitel diesem Derivationsmuster nicht folgen würde. Dies ist ein gewichtiges Argument; gleichwohl wird man die Frage offenlassen müssen, da noch ungeklärt ist, ob die Endung *-danni* nicht etwa komplex ist und womöglich das Suffix *-di-* (wie in *eman=di* "Zehnerschaft" von *eman* "zehn") sowie das Berufsbezeichnungssuffix *-nni* (cf. *urb=ar=i=nni* "Schlachter," *fand=ar=i=nni* "Koch," etc.) enthält (die Erklärung des Vokals *-a-* wäre hierbei allerdings schwierig!). In einem solchen Falle könnte vielleicht die zugrundeliegende Bedeutung von *abuldanni* etwa die folgende sein: "der berufsmäßig das Torwesen versieht," und dies ließe dann wohl auch eine Ableitung von en zu ("der berufsmäßig das en-Wesen versieht").

Akzeptiert man die hier gegebene Analyse, so kann *-n* nicht mehr als Kurzform des enklitischen Pronomens der 3. Ps. Sg. in der Funktion einer Kopula im Nominalsatz betrachtet werden.[27] Da die Formulierung sich sicherlich an das Formular sumerischer und akkadischer Bauinschriften anschloß, ist zu erwarten, daß der Name Tiš-atal das Subjekt des die Bautätigkeit ausdrückenden Prädikats in Z. 6 ist. Allerdings verlangt die Verbalform einen Ergativ. Man muß daher wohl annehmen, daß Name und Titulatur

[24] Cf. dazu G. Wilhelm, *UF* 2 (1970) 280.

[25] G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge*, 16; idem, *The Hurrians*, Warminster 1989, 11. Letztere Erklärung nach mündl. Mitteilung G. Wilhelms bereits geboten von V. Haas, *RHA* 36 (1978) 60 n. 4.

[26] Für Ebla cf. A. Archi, *SEb* 5 (1982) 202 f.; G. Pettinato, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985*, Napoli 1987, 15-27; für Tell Beydar cf. J. Bretschneider / A. Dietrich, in: *Beydar* 1, Münster 1994, 34.

[27] So Diakonoff, *HuU* 111 n. 123.

gewissermaßen als *absolutivus pendens* in der Form an den Anfang der Inschrift gestellt wurden, wie sie jetzt auf dem Siegel des Tupkiš bezeugt ist (s. auch unten zu Z. 15).

I. 4, 7: *purli* wurde von Nougayrol als "Haus" gedeutet, wobei er zwei Stellen des sumer.-hurr. Vorläufers von Ḫḫ II aus Ugarit heranzog, die in der Lesung F. Thureau-Dangins folgendermaßen lauten: DA É = MIN (= *ša*-WA-*ni*) *ša-li-né-we* "neben dem Haus," und EGIR É = *ú-ra-da-ši ša-li-né-we* "hinter dem Haus."[28] Nougayrol glaubte auf Grund der Tišatal-Inschrift an beiden Stellen *pur-* statt *ša-* lesen zu sollen.[29] Eine weitere Gleichung liefert das Fragment einer dreisprachigen Liste RS 21.62 Rs. 13': Die Lesung des Ersteditors Nougayrol ⌜É⌝ = ⌜*bi-tu*⌝ = *š*[*e*]?-x x[[30] wurde—wiederum auf Grund des Ansatzes *purli* = "Haus"—von J. Huehnergard zu ⌜*pu*?-*ur*?-*li*?⌝[emendiert.[31] B. André-Salvini und M. Salvini konnten aber auf Grund eines 1994 entdeckten und demnächst in SCCNH 9 (1997) edierten neuen dreisprachigen Vokabulars aus Ugarit zeigen, daß die Lesung *še* korrekt ist. Leider läßt sich auch aus der neuen Stelle nicht die Lesung des ganzen Wortes gewinnen. Auf Grund des nun gesicherten Anlauts des hurr. Wortes für "Haus" und auf Grund des tatsächlichen Zeichenbefundes schlagen die beiden Autoren überdies vor, bei der Lesung Thureau-Dangins zu bleiben und für das sumerisch-hurritische Vokabular ein Nomen *šali* "Haus" anzusetzen. Davon ist das Wort *purli* zu trennen, für das als gesicherte Bedeutung "Tempel" gelten darf, und zwar nach dem Kontext der Tišatal-Inschrift, der *purli* als Objekt der als "bauen" gesicherten Tätigkeit *pa-* ausweist, und auf Grund eines Vergleichs mit der Atalšen-Inschrift, die ihren Verfasser als DÍM É ^{d}KIŠ.UNU.GAL. "Erbauer des Tempels des Nerigal" bezeichnet. In den hurritischen Texten aus Hattuša ist das Wort *purli* gut bezeugt, wobei die Anlautschreibung, wie dort üblich, zwischen WA und BU schwankt; s. z.B. *furul=le= bi=na ... ēnzar=ra* "die Götter des Tempels" ChS I/1 Nr. 46 II 5'.[32] Die Annahme, das in Ḫattuša häufig belegte *purni* sei eine Variante von *purli*,[33] ist nur durch die

[28] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12 (1931) 242 IV 22, 23 und Planche LI.

[29] Nougayrol, *RA* 42 (1948) 12.

[30] *Ugaritica* 5 (1968) 239, 419.

[31] J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32), Atlanta, 1987, 34, Z. 153; 71.

[32] Für eine Analyse ähnlicher Kontexte cf. A. Kammenhuber, *Arier*, 138 f.; für weitere Belege cf. ChS I/1, p. 406; Laroche, *GLH* 206 f.

[33] E. Laroche, "Hourrite *purli, purni* ≪maison≫," *RA* 47 (1953) 192 f.; idem, PRU 3, 333, n. 3;

Nennung von *purni* neben der Bezeichnung eines Heiligtums *ḫamri* (daneben aber auch die Möbel *tuni* und *tabri*) begründet. Da ein Wechsel in sonst übereinstimmendem Kontext nicht bezeugt ist,[34] erscheint die Identifikation wenig plausibel.

Das Wort *purli* "Tempel" ist in Ortsnamen gut bezeugt: URU *Purul=le=ve* (Stadt "des Tempels") erscheint öfter in den Nuzi-Texten.[35] Derselbe Name ist auch für einen Ort in der ehemaligen Rania-Ebene bezeugt.[36] In akkadisierter Form erscheint er in den Texten aus Mari als Purullum, ein Name, der auch eine Ortschaft zwischen Ḫābūr und Tigris bezeichnet.[37]

Der Wechsel von *pu-ur-li* und *pu-ru-li* erschien Nougayrol "bedeutungslos;" er vermutete einen Zusammenhang mit den Besonderheiten der hurritischen Liquida.[38] M. Giorgieri hat soeben mehrere Nomina gesammelt, die einen ähnlichen Wechsel aufweisen.[39]

I. 5: Der Gottesname wurde von Nougayrol PIRIGAL gelesen und mit der zur Zeit Asarhaddons in Šubria verehrten Göttin ^{d}PIRIG.GAL[40] verbunden, was aber angesichts des großen zeitlichen und—wie sich mit der Lokalisierung von Urkeš auf dem Tell Mōzān herausstellt—auch räumlichen Abstands wenig überzeugend ist. In Texten des 3. Jts., und zwar in Fāra, ist zwar eine Gottheit PIRIG.TUR,[41] anscheinend jedoch nicht eine PIRIG.GAL belegt. Da die Bauinschrift des Adal-šen von Urkeš und Nawar sich auf

V. Haas / G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna* (AOAT-S 3), 1974, 119; Laroche, *GLH* 206.

[34] Die von Laroche, *GLH* 206 behauptete Gleichung *ḫamriya purniya* = É *ḫamriya* ist als solche weder an der angegebenen Stelle noch sonst bezeugt. Damit ist die Vermutung eines Zusammenhangs mit kassit. *purna* = akk. *kidinnu* "Schutz" (Parrot / Nougayrol, l.c. 12) noch weniger begründet.

[35] Cf. J. Fincke, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Nuzi-Texte* (RGTC 10), Wiesbaden 1993, 233.

[36] Cf. J. Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2: The Administrative Texts*, Copenhagen 1992, 56, 88.

[37] Cf. J. Eidem, l.c.; B. Groneberg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit* (RGTC 3), Wiesbaden 1980, 46 f.

[38] A. Parrot / J. Nougayrol, *RA* 42 (1948) 12; s. E. Laroche, *RA* 47 (1953) 193; Diakonoff, *HuU* 77, 111; Laroche, *GLH* 206; M. L. Khačikyan, *Churritskij i urartskij jazyki*, Jerevan 1985, 46.

[39] Cf. demnächst M. Giorgieri, *SCCNH* 9 (1997).

[40] "Gottesbrief" K. 7599:6; s. Th. Bauer, *ZA* 40 (1931) 234, 255; R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (AfO Beiheft 9), Graz 1956, 102.

[41] WVDOG 43 Nr. 1 VII 22; zur Lesung nemur$_x$ für PIRIG.TUR "junger Panther" cf. P. Steinkeller, *ZA* 77 (1987) 162 n. 7.

einen Tempel für Nergal (^{d}KIŠ.UNU.GAL) bezieht, haben D.O. Edzard und A. Kammenhuber eine Interpolation ^{d}NÈ-<ERI>.GAL erwogen.[42] Das erste Zeichen zur Schreibung dieses Namens ist in Texten der Mitte des 3. Jts. KIŠ (LAK 248 = RSP 463), das in altbabylonischer Zeit mit GÌR (LAK 253 = RSP 466) zusammengefallen ist, während das Zeichen PIRIG (LAK 256 = RSP 460) noch seine abweichende Gestalt behält. Sowohl die "Samarra-Tafel" als auch die Inschrift des Tiš-atal weisen im Gottesnamen die Form KIŠ auf, die identisch ist mit dem Zeichen KIŠ in dem Namen *Urkiš* in Z. 7 der "Samarra-Tafel."[43] Es darf daher als sicher gelten, daß hier der Name "Nergal" vorliegt. Ob allerdings eine Interpolation nötig ist oder ob KIŠ als Logogramm für "Nergal" mit phonetischem Komplement zu verstehen ist, kann auf Grund unseres Textes nicht entschieden werden.[44]

Der Gottesname ist als Genitiv zu dem vorausgehenden *purli* aufzufassen, allerdings nicht mit einem Kasusgrammem gekennzeichnet. Eine Parallele für die logographische Schreibung eines Götternamens unter Fortlassung einer syntaktisch notwendig anzusetzenden Kasusendung bietet der Text Mari hurr. 1:[45]

31 É.A *fali tuv=i=l=annē=n*[46]
32 f. *paġe=p=pi=ne=(*ž)=m eni=ž tuv=i=l=annē=n*
34 f. *Teššob=a(*ž)=m kumme=ni=n tuv=i=l=annē=n*
36 f. *Šimigē=ne=(*ž)=m tuv=i=l=annē=n*

"Ea (Ergativ!) soll den *fali* ...; der Gott deines Hauptes soll dich ...; Teššob von Kumme soll dich ...; Šimige soll dich ...!"[47]

[42] *RlA* 4, 509.

[43] Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 11 (1909) Pl. I.

[44] Zu dieser Frage (aber ohne Berücksichtigung der Inschrift des Tiš-atal) s. P. Steinkeller, *ZA* 77 (1987) 161-168; W. G. Lambert, *ZA* 80 (1990) 40-52; Steinkeller, *ZA* 80 (1990) 53-59; Lambert, *ZA* 80 (1990) 220-222.

[45] F. Thureau-Dangin, "Tablettes ḫurrites provenant de Mâri," *RA* 36 (1939) 2, 5.

[46] Die Schreibung *-an-e-* steht für Doppelkonsonanz, wie dies in hurritischen Texten aus Alalaḫ und Ḫattuša öfter zu beobachten ist. Für die Endung des Desiderativs mit dem "Voluntativ"-Zeichen und entsprechende urartäische Bildungen (*-l=anni*) und ohne dasselbe (*-anni*) in Ḫattuša cf. G. Wilhelm, *Iraq* 53 (1991) 164 n. 20 und in: *Festschrift Klaus Heger*, 1992, 666 n. 7, sowie unabhängig davon M. Salvini, "Nuovi confronti fra hurrico e urarteo," *SMEA* 29 (1992) 217-221 (s. n. 16a).

[47] Die Behandlung der Stelle durch V. Haas / G. Wilhelm, *Or* n.s. 43 (1974) 90 f. verkennt das enklitische Pronomen der 2. Ps. Sg. *-m* und den dadurch bedingten Schwund des Ergativmorphems. Auch die dort gebotene Deutung von *fali* ist sicherlich falsch, die von *tuv-* zweifelhaft.

I. 6: Die Verbalform *ba-'à-áš-tum*[48] wurde schon von Nougayrol richtig mit "a bâti" ("hat gebaut") übersetzt. Zu Recht stellte er einen Zusammenhang mit dem häufig in Nuzi belegten *qaqqaru paiḫu* "Baugrundstück" her. Die Form *paiḫu* kann allerdings inzwischen besser analysiert werden: Es handelt sich um eine *-ge*-Bildung von der Wurzel *pa-* mit dem Transitivität anzeigenden Vokal *-i-*. Parallelen dafür sind *paššᵉ=i=ge* "Sendung" und *na=i=ge* "Weide."[49] Die gleichfalls von Nougayrol herangezogene Form ⌜*pa*⌝-[x]-*iš*-⌜*tu*⌝[50], die mit sumer. m u - u n - l á statt des kanonischen m u - u n - b a l "er hat gegraben" wiedergegeben wird, bleibt allerdings ganz unsicher.[51]

Die Form der Tišatal-Inschrift hat eine genaue Parallele in der hurr.-heth. Bilingue "Freilassung" aus Ḫattuša, in der hurr. *pa-a-aš-tu-u-um* (*pa=ašt=o=m*) mit heth. *ú-e-te-et* "er baute" wiedergegeben wird.[52]

Die Form kann als transitiv-ergativisch (*-o-*) sowie als 3. Ps. Sg. (*-m*) bestimmt werden.[53] Die Erkenntnis, daß das Althurritische ein Kennzeichen der Transitivität aufweist, das im Urartäischen eine Entsprechung in dem Themavokal *-u-* hat (z.B. in urart. *šid=išt=u=ni* "er hat gebaut"), geht auf Diakonoff zurück;[54] diese Übereinstimmung ist für ihn ein wesentliches Indiz für die besondere Nähe der althurritischen Tišatal-Inschrift zum Urartäischen.[55] Unabhängig von der Erkenntnis, daß das

[48] Bei E. Laroche, *GLH*, 192, ist die Form fälschlich unter *paḫ*... gebucht. Dies geht wahrscheinlich auf die Wiedergabe von *'à* durch *hà* (nicht *ḫà*!) bei I.M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 110, zurück.

[49] Cf. G. Wilhelm, in: V. Haas, *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (Xenia 21), Konstanz 1988, 55, sowie *SMEA* 29 (1992) 240 n. 4. Cf. noch *kunz=i=ge* "Verneigung"(?) ChS I/1 3 Rs. 15, *un=i=ge* "Darbringung"(??) ibid. 16 und den Opferterminus *pend=i=ge* (zu diesem cf. V. Haas / G. Wilhelm, AOAT-S 3, 1974, 94).

[50] Sum.-hurr. Ḫḫ II Vs. III 14; cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12 (1931) 240.

[51] Derselbe Text übersetzt Vs. I 20 sumer. d ù "bauen" mit hurr. *tin-*, was wohl als Nebenform von *tan-* "machen" zu verstehen ist. Eine hurritische Entsprechung zu sumer. b a l "graben" wäre *kur-* (*kur=uš*t-); zur Bedeutung dieses Verbs cf. C. Zaccagnini, The Rural Landscape of the Land of *Arraphe*, Roma 1979, 65 mit Lit.; zur Formanalyse cf. G. Wilhelm, *SCCNH* 2 (1987) 335.

[52] *KBo* 32,14 Rs. 35//41; cf. E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*, Mainz - Stuttgart 1988, 7; idem, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I. Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Ḫattuša* (StBoT 32), Wiesbaden 1996, 6, 184.

[53] Cf. G. Wilhelm, in: "Zum hurritischen Verbalsystem," in: S. R. Anschütz (Hrg.), *Texte, Sätze, Wörter und Moneme. Festschrift für Klaus Heger zum 65. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg 1992, 665-670.

[54] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 111 n. 123, 118.

[55] Cf. I. M. Diakonoff, *OLZ* 68 (1973) 12.

Althurritische einen transitiven Themavokal *-u* kennt, folgte Diakonoff aber weiterhin der auf Speiser zurückgehenden Tradition,[56] den *u*-Vokal in hurritischen Personennamen wie Tadu-Ḫeba als "Partizip des Zustands ... des Objekts der Handlung" zu betrachten.[57] Speiser gab Tadu-Ḫeba mit "Loved is Ḫeba(t)" wieder, und hierin folgte ihm Diakonoff, der allerdings das Formans in Personennamen als *-o* ansetzte und damit einen auch formalen Unterschied zu dem Themavokal der Transitivität *-u* annahm. Diakonoffs Schülerin M.L. Khačikyan hat diese Ansätze in verschiedenen Arbeiten aufgegriffen und weiterentwickelt. Sie weist dem Grammem *-u-* der Tišatal-Inschrift perfektive Bedeutung in Opposition zu der ihrer Auffassung nach aspektuell neutralen Transitiv-Markierung *-i* zu.[58] Auch sie trennt davon weiterhin ein Zustandspartizip auf *-o*. Allerdings läßt sie offen, ob die Personennamen mit einem ersten Element auf *-o/u* wie Agu-šenni in der einen oder der anderen Weise zu deuten sind, ob also Agu-šenni als **ag=o−šenni* "der Bruder ist geführt" oder als **ag=u=(b)−šenni* "(der Gott x) führt den Bruder" zu analysieren und zu übersetzen sei.[59]

Zu einer weiteren Klärung führte in dieser Hinsicht die Entdeckung der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša im Jahre 1983. Zunächst versuchte der Bearbeiter der Bilingue, E. Neu, den Befund des wichtigen neuen Textes mit dem allerdings auf einer sehr schmalen und oft ambiguen Textbasis beruhenden grammatischen System Diakonoffs und Khačikyans zu erklären.[60] So deutete er das in der Bilingue bezeugte und mit der hier zu diskutierenden Form der Tišatal-Inschrift morphologisch identische *pa-a-aš-tu-u-um* in Übereinstimmung mit Diakonoff und Khačikyan als transitive Verbalform auf *-u=m* und trennte davon ein "intransitives Formans auf *-u-*, wohl /o/." Die Formen *pa-a-ru*, *wu$_{6}$-ú-ru*, *te-e-lu* und *tap-šu-ú*,[61] die er hierzu anführt, passen

[56] E. A. Speiser, *IH* § 123, § 171.

[57] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 139.

[58] M. L. Khačikyan, "On the Typology of the Hurro-Urartian Verb," in: *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, Warminster 1982, 165-168; ebenso: "Towards the Categories of Aspect and Version in Hurro-Urartian," *ZA* 74 (1984) 92 f.; *Churritskij i urartskij jazyki*, Jerevan 1985, 90; "O sootnošenii churritskich i urartskich dialektov," *Drevnij Vostok* 5 (1988) 215.

[59] M. L. Khačikyan, "On Some Models in Hurrian Onomastics," *SCCNH* 2 (1987) 154.

[60] E. Neu, *Das Hurritische*, 7 ff.

[61] KBo 32,14 I 3 f., 8 und passim.

jedoch nicht in den von Diakonoff entworfenen Rahmen, da es sich, wie Neu selbst bemerkt, im ersteren Falle nicht um ein "Partizip des Zustands ... des Objekts der Handlung" handelt, sondern um eine Form der Vorgangsbeschreibung.[62]

Nachdem mit der Veröffentlichung der Bilingue 1991[63] diese der hurritologischen Forschung allgemein zugänglich wurde, konnte der Verfasser dieser Zeilen zeigen, daß die Bilingue sehr weitgehend /o/ und /u/ in derselben Weise durch die Zeichen U und Ú unterscheidet, wie dies im Mittani-Brief der Fall ist, und daß Formen wie *pa-a-aš-tu-u-um* bei *plene*-Schreibung des Vokals in aller Regel mit U geschrieben sind, daß also als Themavokal hier /o/ anzusetzen ist.[64] Außerdem konnte er darauf verweisen, daß zahlreiche ältere hurritische Personennamen wie *Pud=o=m−Kiriž*, *Šeġl=o=m−Naja*, etc. dieselben Verbalformen auf *-m* enthielten, daß diese sich allerdings in jüngerer Zeit mit der Vollform auf *-o=m* nur vor Vokal gehalten hatten (z.B. *Ar=o=m−adal*), während in allen anderen Fällen Umformungen oder Verkürzungen stattfanden.[65] Das von Diakonoff als Transitivitätszeichen *-u* bestimmte Grammem in der Form *ba-'à-áš-tum* ist also identisch mit dem von ihm als *-o* angesetzten "Partizip des Zustands ... des Objekts der Handlung;" es handelt sich um ein einziges Morphem *-o*. Bei den Personennamen mit solchen *-o-* Formen handelt es sich um echte Satznamen, wobei allerdings das Agens nicht im Ergativ steht, wie es außerhalb der Personennamengebung obligatorisch ist, sondern endungslos bleibt. Jedenfalls muß auf Grund semantischer Erwägungen das zweite Element in diesen Namen als Agens betrachtet werden, denn—um nur ein einziges Beispiel zu nennen—ein Name wie *Šad=o=p(<m)−šarri*[66] kann nur als "der Götterkönig ersetzte ihn" (wohl den verstorbenen älteren Bruder des Neugeborenen), nicht umgekehrt als *"er ersetzte den Götterkönig" verstanden werden. Weiterhin zeigte

[62] Formen auf *-o/u* wie *wa$_a$-šu-ma-i* (*faž=o/u=mai*) "eintretend, indem/als er eintrat" *KBo* 32,13 I 3, *šu-úr-ru-ú* (*/u/*, nicht */o/* !) ibid. 9, evtl. auch *še-eḫ-lu* ibid. 1, die alle intransitive Bewegungsverben sind oder - im letzteren Falle - sein könnten, sind hier vielleicht anzuschließen und bedürfen weiterer Untersuchung.

[63] H. Otten / Ch. Rüster: *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt* (KBo 32), Berlin 1990 (erschienen 1991).

[64] G. Wilhelm: "Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue aus Boğazköy," *Or* n.s. 61 (1992) 124 f.

[65] G. Wilhelm, in: *Fs. Klaus Heger*, 1992, 667-669.

[66] Zu *šad-* "ersetzen" s. J. Fincke apud A.M. Dinçol / B. Dinçol / J. D. Hawkins / G. Wilhelm: "The 'Cruciform Seal' from Boğazköy-Hattusa," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993) 102 n. 78 auf der Basis von AASOR 16, 3:3, 5.

sich, daß die Formen auf *-o* und die auf *-i* sich nicht in der Weise verteilten, wie Frau Khačikyan angenommen hatte, sondern daß die Formen auf *-o* in ergativischer Konstruktion und die (gleichfalls transitiven) Formen auf *-i* in nicht-ergativischer Konstruktion stehen und insofern mit dem sog. "Antipassiv" identisch sind.

Ein erster Versuch durch den Ersteditor der Tišatal-Inschrift, das auslautende *-m* der Form *ba-'à-áš-tum* als eine Art Pausakennzeichen ("un signe de «ponctuation»") zu erklären, bedarf heute keiner Widerlegung mehr. Diakonoff deutete *-m* als althurritische Entsprechung zu jüngerem *-n* bzw. *-nna*, dem enklitischen Pronomen der 3. Ps. Sg. Absolutiv.[67] Dabei spielte gewiß der Vergleich mit den ergativischen Verbalformen der 3. Ps. Sg. im Urartäischen eine Rolle, in denen ja die Kennzeichnung eines Objekts der 3. Ps. Sg. durch *-n* bei singularischem Ergativ (jedenfalls im Indikativ)[68] obligatorisch ist (*kug=u=nə* "er weihte es").[69] Einen anderen Weg beschritt M.L. Khačikyan, die das Suffix *-m* mit dem Suffix *-b* identifizieren wollte, welches in Personennamen und älteren hurritischen Texten bei Verbalformen auf *-a* (intransitiv) und *-i* (transitiv) bezeugt ist.[70] Diese Identifikation hatte eine Theorie zum Hintergrund, derzufolge das Hurritische sich von einer Aktivsprache zur Ergativsprache entwickelt habe: Im ältesten Hurritischen seien (die Identifikation von *-m* und *-b* vorausgesetzt!) sämtliche Formen der 3. Ps. Sg., die eine Aktion ausdrücken, durch die gleiche Endung gekennzeichnet, unabhängig davon, ob es sich um transitive oder intransitive Formen handelt; das Oppositum dazu sei eine Form der 3. Ps. Sg. mit der Endung *-Ø* oder *-n*, die einen Zustand zum Ausdruck bringe. Diese Auffassung berücksichtigt allerdings nicht, daß die Endung *-m* keineswegs auf die Tišatal-Inschrift beschränkt ist, sondern daß sie auch sonst—in Personennamen[71] ebenso wie in den Texten aus Ḫattuša[72]—gut bezeugt ist

[67] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 123 n. 143.

[68] Für proleptisches *-ni* bei Möglichkeits- und Wunschformen im Urartäischen cf. I.M. Diakonoff, *OLZ* 68 (1973) 12 n. 1.

[69] Zu den Verhältnissen im Plural s. M. Salvini apud G. A. Melikišvili: *Die urartäische Sprache* (Studia Pohl 7), Rom 1971, 103.

[70] M. L. Khačikyan, in: *Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, 165.

[71] Für Beispiele s. G. Wilhelm, in: *Fs. Klaus Heger*, 667 f.

[72] Als Beispiele seien nur zwei Texte aus dem Mythenkreis um Kumarbi für Formen auf *-o=m* herangezogen: *KUB* 47, 56 : *ša-tu-u-um* Vs. 9', 10', *a-ku-ma* Vs. 12', *ši-i̯a-lu-šu-um* Vs. 18' (cf. *ši-i̯a-lu-u-šu-um KBo* 32,14 Rs. 56 "er stellte hin"), *mi-ḫu-u-um* Rs. 15'; *KBo* 27, 217: *u-ul-lu-ḫu-um* Rs. 10', *a-ra-am-du-u-um* Rs. 12', *da-a-la-a-aḫ-ḫu-um* Rs. 13', *zi-il$_5$-mi-iš-tu-ma* Rs. 13'.

und in einer Opposition zu *-b* steht,[73] die mit der Opposition *-o-* versus *-i-/-a-* und damit—wie allerdings erst die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue gezeigt hat—mit der Opposition "ergativisch versus nicht-ergativisch" gekoppelt ist. *-m* und *-b* sind also auseinanderzuhalten, und damit entfällt auch das wesentliche Argument für die Annahme, das Hurritische sei ursprünglich eine Aktiv-Sprache gewesen.[74]

Gleichwohl folgt E. Neu der Auffassung Khačikyans, *-m* und *-b* seien identisch.[75] Grund hierfür sind vereinzelte Formen auf *-u=b* wie *pu-ú-zi-ḫu-ub KBo* 32,14 Rs. 24 und *a-le-e-u-ub KBo* 32,14 Rs. 36 sowie außerhalb der Bilingue *ša-a-at-tu-ú-ub KUB* 47,1 I 3 (cf. *ša-ad-du-um* "er ergriff"[76] *KUB* 47,9: 4'), *ú-nu-u-up KUB* 47,78 I 14'. Für die Bilingue können also nur zwei Belege nachgewiesen werden, denen allein in der Tafel *KBo* 32,14 nicht weniger als 32 Belege für reguläres *-o=m* gegenüberstehen. Durch das Zeugnis der Personennamen wissen wir, daß in jüngerer Zeit *-o=m* vor Konsonant zu Instabilität neigte. An den beiden von Neu namhaft gemachten Stellen in der Bilingue geht *-o=b* jeweils einem mit *ḫ-* anlautenden Wort voraus, so daß die

[73] Der Befund ist allerdings dadurch ein wenig verunklart, daß in jüngeren hurritischen Personennamen (im Gegensatz zu älteren) eine lautliche Entwicklung von *-m* zu *-p* vor *š* eintritt; cf. G. Wilhelm, *Fs. Klaus Heger*, 1992, 668.

[74] Auch Diakonoff stellt – zuletzt in einem Beitrag zur hurritischen Dialektologie ("Evidence on the Ethnic Division of the Ḫurrians," *SCCNH* [1], Winona Lake 1981, 77-89) – die Kategorien "action" und "state" gegenüber und bezeichnet das Pronominalsuffix der 3. Ps. Sg. Absolutiv (hurr. *-n, -nna*, urart. *-n*), das sowohl das Objekt einer durch ergativische Konstruktion dargestellten Aktion kennzeichnen kann wie das Subjekt eines Zustands oder einer Bewegung in nicht-ergativischer Konstruktion, als "subject-of-the-state." Entgegen der Definition der Formen auf *-a* (z.B. *un=a*, zu *un-* "kommen") als "Partizipien ... des Zustands" (Diakonoff, *HuU* 139) muß betont werden, daß die Verben auf *-a*, soweit bisher semantisch erschlossen, zumindest ganz überwiegend Bewegungsverben, nicht Zustandsverben sind (u.a. *faž-* "eintreten", *ḫab=an-* "hingehen", *itt-* "gehen", *meg-* "(vor jdn.) hintreten", *naḫḫ-* "sich setzen", *sugm-* "hereinkommen", *un-* "kommen") und daß die eigentlichen Zustandsverben einen noch genauer zu bestimmenden Themavokal *-e/i* aufweisen: *mann-* "sein", *tupp-* "(vorhanden)sein", *ur-* "existieren", *irn-* "gleichwertig sein"; zu letzterem cf. G. Wilhelm, *Or* n.s. 54 (1985) 494; so auch Ch. Girbal nach einem zunächst abweichenden Ansatz (*ZA* 78 [1988] 131) mit einer weiterführenden Aussage zu *irinni*: *SMEA* 29 (1992) 159 f., *SMEA* 34 (1994) 81. Die Kategorie des "Zustandsverbs" ist zuerst dargestellt bei G. Wilhelm, in: *Fs. Klaus Heger*, 661; dort (S. 659) ist auch die Kategorie "Bewegungsverb" eingeführt worden. M.L. Khačikyan spricht in Hinsicht auf die Verbalformen auf *-a* von "intransitive action" (in: *Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, 166).

[75] 2 E. Neu, *Das Hurritische*, 7 n. 15; "Varia Hurritica. Sprachliche Beobachtungen an der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša," in: E. Neu und Ch. Rüster (ed.), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1988, 238; "Zu einigen graphischen Varianten in der hurritischen Fassung der hurritisch-mittelhethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša," *SMEA* 29 (1992) 209; so auch noch fragend in StBoT 32 (1996) 193 und sonst.

[76] Zu *šatt-* = *ṣabātu* nach dem Vokabular RS 94-2939 s. demnächst M. Salvini, *SCCNH* 9.

Vermutung einer lautlichen Veränderung naheliegt. Aber schon die Statistik allein verbietet es, den Befund der Bilingue als Stütze für die These Frau Khačikyans in Anspruch zu nehmen, die ihrerseits auf ganz dünnem Boden steht und erkennbar durch sprachgeschichtstheoretische Erwägungen, nicht durch den philologischen Befund angeregt wurde.

Da alle bisher beobachteten Formen auf *-o=m* sowohl als Subjekt wie als Objekt der Handlung eine 3. Ps. Sg. haben, während die Anwesenheit einer 3. Ps. Pl. als Subjekt oder Objekt anders kodiert wird, liegt es nahe, *-m* als eine Person/Numerus-Markierung für die 3. Ps. Sg. zu betrachten. Die Autoren, die der Hypothese von dem ursprünglichen Aktiv-Charakter des Hurritischen anhängen, betrachten *-m* entweder als Kennzeichen des Subjekts des Zustands (Diakonoff) oder als Kennzeichen des Subjekts der Aktion (Khačikyan), in jedem Falle aber als ein Kennzeichen der 3. Ps. Sg. Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen hat 1992 auf Formen hingewiesen,[77] die dafür sprechen könnten, daß *-m* ein bipolares Suffix ist, das gleichzeitig die 3. Ps. Sg. des Subjekts und die des Objekts kennzeichnet.

Wir fahren fort mit der Diskussion der Verbalform *pa=ašt=o=m*: Das herkömmlich als "Wurzelerweiterung" unklarer Bedeutung bezeichnete Suffix *=Všt=* (*V* entspricht in der Regel dem vorangehenden Vokal) ist nach dem Befund der hurr.-heth. Bilingue vielleicht als ein Aktionsartkennzeichen ("resultativ"?) zu sehen. Weitere Untersuchungen hierzu wären äußerst wünschenswert. Dasselbe Suffix ist noch in dem Ortsnamen Tīl-pašte enthalten, wenn dieser richtig als "bebauter Ruinenhügel" gedeutet ist.[78]

Ob die Schreibung mit É (s. auch Z. 12, 16, 22) ein konsonantisches Phonem impliziert und gegebenenfalls welches, muß offenbleiben. Im Altakkadischen steht É überwiegend für */ḥa/*, gelegentlich auch für */ha/*.[79] In Ebla wird das Zeichen ebenfalls nur zur Darstellung von */ḥa/* und */ha/* verwendet.[80] Diakonoff umschreibt daher konsequent É mit *ha*. Allerdings zeigt die Schreibung desselben Wortes in der hurr.-heth. Bilingue, daß hier entweder ein im jüngeren Hurritischen geschwundenes Phonem

[77] Subjekt 3. Ps. Pl. mit Objekt 3. Ps. Sg.: *tūn=id=o* "sie vermochten ihn (zu überführen)" *KBo* 32,14 IV 17, 26; s. auch *[nag]=ēd=o* "man setzte ihn ein" *KBo* 32,14 I 34; Subjekt 3. Ps. Sg. mit Objekt 3. Ps. Pl.: *naḫḫ=ō=žo* "sie (Sg.) setzte sie (Pl.)" *KBo* 32,13 I 26; s. auch *samm=al=ašt=o=ž* "er riß sie (Pl.) ab" *KBo* 32,14 I 57.

[78] S. G. Wilhelm apud J. Fincke, RGTC 10, 295.

[79] I. J. Gelb, *MAD* 2^2, 1961, 88 f.; M. Krebernik, *WO* 15 (1984) 90 mit n. 10.

[80] M. Krebernik, *ZA* 72 (1982) 180 f., 186, 219 (*/ʾa/* und */ʿa/* werden Krebernik zufolge in Ebla durch A oder $^{\text{ʾ}}\text{A}_{\text{x}}$ = NI dargestellt).

vorliegt oder aber nur die Morphemgrenze bezeichnet wird, woraus man dann wohl auf Zweisilbigkeit von *pa=ašt-* schließen darf.

Die Wurzel *pa-* ohne resultatives(?) *=ašt=* ist verschiedentlich belegt, so in dem agens-orientierten Partizip *pa=i=ri* "einer, der erbaut hat"[81] und in der schwierig zu deutenden Form *pa-i-li-i̯a-né-eš*[82] (sinngemäß und nach der hethitischen Übersetzung "das, welches ich gebaut habe," "das von mir Gebaute"). Auch in Personennamen kommt die Wurzel *pa-* häufig vor; hier hat sie offensichtlich den Doppelsinn von akk. *banû* ("bauen, schaffen," gesagt z.B. von einem Tempel ebenso wie von einem Menschen), z.B. Pa=i=b−Ebla "Ebla hat (den Namensträger) geschaffen."[83]

l. 7: *puruli* ist, wie bereits oben gesagt, eine zweisilbige Nebenform zu *purli* (wie z.B. *torubi* zu *torbi* "Feind") und enthält nicht etwa den Relator *-ne* (**purul=le*), denn letzterer ist mit dem Absolutiv − jedenfalls im Mittani-Brief und wohl auch sonst − inkompatibel.[84]

[81] *pa-i-ri-ma* (Absolutiv) *KBo* 32,14 Rs. 36 "den aber, der (den Turm) gebaut hatte;" *pa-i-ri-pu-*⌜*ú*⌝*-i* (*pa=i=r(i)=iffu=u̯i*) "dessen, der mich gebaut hat" ibid. 37, mit Possessivsuffix der 1. Ps. und Genitivendung; so wohl zu Recht J. Catsanicos, "L'apport de la bilingue de Ḫattuša à la lexicologie hourrite," in: J.-M. Durand, *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites* (Amurru 1), Paris 1996, 203 f.; anders E. Neu, StBoT 32 (1996) 152.

[82] *KBo* 32,14 Rs. 38; cf. E. Neu, StBoT 32, 207 f.; J. Catsanicos, in: Amurru 1, 237.

[83] *KBo* 32, 20 Vs. I 6'. Ebla fungiert hier als theophores Element, wie dies auch bei zahlreichen anderen Ortsnamen in der hurritischen Anthroponomastik der Fall ist; cf. *NPN* 198 ff. sub Arraphe, Nawar, Ninu, Nuzu, Zizza etc. sowie G. Wilhelm, *SCCNH* 8 (1996) 336 und demnächst: Namengebung. Hurritisch, in: *RlA* 8. Die falsche Übersetzung des Namens Paip-Ebla als "der Ebla gebaut hat" (so E. Neu, *Xenia* 21 [1988] 113 n. 4), die ich bereits *Or* n.s. 61 (1992) 138, korrigiert hatte, erweist sich als zählebig, s. E. Neu, StBoT 32 (1996) 190 Anm. 184, und, ihm folgend, auch J. Catsanicos, in: *Amurru* 1, 252 Anm. 159. Dasselbe gilt für den gleichgebauten Namen Arip-Ebla, den Neu mit "der Ebla gegeben hat" übersetzt. Es sei hier nur bemerkt, daß eine entsprechende Übersetzung von Namen wie *Ba-i-ip-šar-ri* (Tigunānu-Prisma I 48) oder *A-ri-ip-te-šup* (*AAN* 29) zu wenig sinnvollen Resultaten führt; der erstere heißt natürlich nicht *"Der den Götterkönig geschaffen hat," sondern "Der Götterkönig hat (den Namensträger) geschaffen," der letztere nicht *"Der (den Gott) Teššob gegeben hat," sondern "Teššob hat (den Namensträger) gegeben." Auch ein Satzname wie Paik-kerḫe (*NPN* 109b, *AAN* 104) mit dem theophoren Element *kerge* "Oberstadt" ist - ausgehend von den Übersetzungen von Neu und Catsanicos - in der Bedeutung *"der die Oberstadt erbaut hat" z.B. als Name eines Torwächters (*abultannu*) in HSS 16, 460:6 nicht sehr plausibel, und auch der Name Arik-kerḫe (*NPN* 26) wäre für den Bauern, der in AASOR 64 ein Feld gegen Getreidedarlehen verpfändet, äußerst prätentiös, würde man ihn *"der die Oberstadt gegeben hat" übersetzen.

[84] G. Wilhelm, "Zur Grammatik und zum Lexikon des Hurritischen," *ZA* 83 (1993) 106-109.

l. 8: *a-ti* ist, wie schon Nougayrol vorschlug,[85] als das deiktische Pronomen *andi* zu bestimmen. Die Bedeutung dieses Pronomens ist anaphorisch mit Hier-Deixis.[86]

Für ʾ*à-al-li* (s. auch l. 12 und l. 22) ist bisher keine Parallele in anderen hurritischen Texten nachgewiesen worden. Die Annahme Nougayrols, es handele sich um eine Nebenform des Pronomens *anni*,[87] ist wenig befriedigend. Diakonoff stellt einen Zusammenhang zu dem urartäischen Relativpronomen *ali* (*alə*), Obl. *alu-* her. Für dieses sind mehrere Verwendungsweisen bezeugt: Als Subjekt oder Objekt eines Objektsatzes (1a, b), als Objekt (im Absolutiv) in einem Attributsatz (2) oder als Relativum ohne Aktantenfunktion (3):

(1a) *a[lu]=šə ... ḫa=u=l=eḫə tur=i=ni=nə Ḫaldi=šə* Teišeba=šə ...
"Wer (ihn) wegnimmt, (den) mögen Ḫaldi, Teišeba ... vernichten!" *UKN* 167:10f.

(1b) *alə [atq]anad=u=bə* INA? URU[*A*]*rdi=ni=e ar=u=[bə]*
"Was ich [weih]te, gab [ich] in die Stadt Muṣaṣir." Topzawä 21' f.[88]

(2) É*mur(i=n)e=lə alə* LÚAD-*šə* LÚAD.AD=*šə* [*za*]*d=u=a=lə ... ie=šə* 150 É*mure ḫa=u=bə*
"Die *muri*-Gebäude, welche (sein) Vater (und sein) Großvater gebaut hatten ... -, ich nahm 150 *muri*-Gebäude ein." *UKN* 155 C 27-31.[89]

(3) *alə ab=a=də [ḫa]š=ia=l=me* DINGIR.MEŠ
"Was ich erbat (Urart.: intrans.!) -, die Götter erhörten mich." (Urart.: intrans. mit enklit. Pron. der 1. Ps. Sg. Dativ *-me*) *UKN* 127 IV 29.

Die Verwendung von ʾ*à-al-li* scheint demgegenüber eher die eines rückverweisenden, resumptiven Pronomens ähnlich der von *andi=lla* im Mittani-Brief nach einem mit *i̯e-* eingeleiteten "Relativsatz" zu sein:

[85] Parrot / Nougayrol, *RA* 42 (1948) 12; ebenso implizit Diakonoff, *HuU* 109.

[86] Cf. G. Wilhelm, "Die Inschrift auf der Statue der Tatu-ḫepa und die hurritischen deiktischen Pronomina," *SMEA* 24 (1984) 215-222.

[87] Parrot/Nougayrol, *RA* 42 (1948) 12; das Pronomen *anni* konnte inzwischen als Demonstrativpronomen mit Hier-Deixis im Sinne eines Verweises im Raum gedeutet werden; cf. Wilhelm, l.c. Ein gutes weiteres Beispiel bietet der Text *KUB* 47, 61 Vs. II 9: *an-ni ḫa-a-ni faḫ[rožt]*? "dieses schö[ne]? Kind" in der Rede des Kumarbi anläßlich der Vergabe des Namens Ullikummi (Z. 14) an die Steingeburt.

[88] Cf. M. Salvini, "La bilingue urarteo-assira di Rusa I," in: P. E. Pecorella / M. Salvini (ed.), *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia*, Roma 1984, 79-96, Tav. XII-XVI.

[89] Cf. I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 135.

ṫa=llā=nṫn šēn(a)=iffu=ž ... tivē=na tān=ōž=ā=šše=na ... andi=ll(a)=ān Šimṫge=ne=ž ar=ēd=a šēn(a)=iffu=u̯a

"Die Dinge, die mein Bruder ... getan hat, **die** wird Šimige meinem Bruder geben." Mit. § 9, I 104-107.

Die Funktion eines Relativums wie in den zitierten urartäischen Sätzen ist dagegen nicht gegeben, jedenfalls nicht, wenn man von der üblichen Stilisierung von Flüchen in Fluchformeln der akkadischen[90] oder urartäischen[91] Königsinschriften ausgeht, die aus einfachen Sätzen des Typs "Wer ..., den mögen die Götter ...!" bestehen. Die Übersetzung, die I.M. Diakonoff bietet, erscheint demgegenüber etwas forciert: "Das/ein Haus, das Nubadig hütet(?), wenn es jemand vernichtet, den soll Nubadig vernichten."[92] Gleichwohl ist ein Zusammenhang zwischen hurr. *ʾalli* und urart. *ali* wahrscheinlich, denn eine Entwicklung von einem Demonstrativum zu einem Relativum ist, wie z.B. das Deutsche zeigt, typologisch nicht ungewöhnlich.

l. 9: Der Gott Lubadag ist bereits von Nougayrol mit dem in Ḫattuša, Ugarit und Emar bezeugten Gott Nubadig identifiziert worden, über den nur wenig bekannt ist.[93] Das Hurritische des 2. Jts. kennt keinen *l*-Anlaut, weshalb auf *l* anlautende fremde Wörter und Namen meist mit *n*-Anlaut gesprochen werden.[94] Eine Ableitung des Namens aus dem Hurritischen erscheint lexikalisch und morphologisch schwierig. Allerdings ist ein Zusammenhang mit dem sumerischen Lugalbanda[95] aus lautlichen und religionsgeschichtlichen Gründen wenig wahrscheinlich.

Hier und in Z. 13 erscheint der Gottesname im Ergativ, der bei Konsonantstämmen die Allomorphe *-až*[96] oder *-už*[97] aufweist.

[90] Vgl. S. Franke, *Königsinschriften und Königsideologie*, Münster / Hamburg 1995, 211-244.

[91] Cf. W. C. Benedict, "The Urartian-Assyrian Inscription of Kelishin," *JAOS* 81 (1961) 383-385.

[92] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 111, s. auch 133.

[93] Cf. G. Wilhelm, "Lupatik, Nupatik," in: *RlA* 7 (1987-90) 173 f.; cf. noch J.-M. Durand, ARM XXVI/1, 581 f. zu *ᵈNu-ba-an-da-ag* A. 3920:8 als einer in Kargamiš verehrten Gottheit (frdl. Hinweis M. Guichard).

[94] Cf. M. Berkooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian* (Language, Suppl. 23), Philadelphia 1937, 59. Für weitere Beispiele cf. *NPN* 307.

[95] So ohne Kommentar I. J. Gelb† / B. Kienast, FAOS 7, 1990, 382, Z. 13, Übersetzung.

[96] Z. B. *Teššob=až*, *Šamaš-muštēšer=až* Tigunānu hurr. 9'.

[97] Nach dem Pluralsuffix *-až-* und nach dem Possessivsuffix der 2. Ps. Sg. *-b/v*; bei den

l. 10: *ša-ak-ru-in* ist von Nougayrol zu Recht als ein Optativ (Jussiv) von einer Wurzel *šagr-* bestimmt worden. Die Bedeutung "protéger, bénir" erschloß er aus dem Kontext und erwog einen Zusammenhang mit der in hurritischen PNn häufigen Wurzel *šugr-*, die allerdings ihrerseits ungedeutet ist. Laroche, *GLH*, bucht keinen weiteren Beleg für die Wurzel *šagr-*. Wahrscheinlich darf man aber den in Nuzi öfter bezeugten Ortsnamen *Šá-ak-ru-uš-še* (und Varianten)[98] als Ableitung auf *-o=šše*[99] von einem Nomen **šagr=i* dazustellen.

Es fällt auf, daß alle Wunschformen (Z. 10, 14, 17, 25) auf *-in* enden, nicht auf *-en*, wie bei dem Jussiv des Mittani-Briefes,[100] obwohl das Syllabar des Textes das Silbenzeichen EN in der Lesung *en* kennt (Z. 2). I.M. Diakonoff hat darauf hingewiesen, daß die Jussiv-Formen der Tišatal-Inschrift—anders als die des jüngeren Hurritischen[101]—noch das Transitivitätszeichen (jetzt als *-o-* anzusetzen) aufweisen.[102]

konsonantisch auslautenden Namen (*Gilgamiž=u(ž)=l, Nikkal=u(ž)=l, Ḫebat=už*) liegen anscheinend zumindest teilweise *u*-stämmige Nebenformen vor, wie die Genitive *Ḫe-e-pa-a-tu-u-i* ChS I/1 5 II 5 (neben dem konsonantstämmigen Genitiv *ḫe-e-pa-at-te-* ibid. I 66) und ^{D}*Ni-kal-l*[*u*]-⌜*ú-e*⌝ ibid. II 8 zeigen.

[98] S. J. Fincke, RGTC 10, 241 f.

[99] S. G. Wilhelm, *SMEA* 29 (1992) 247 n. 15. Weiterhin können hier *itt=o=šše* "Kleidung" (s. dazu G. Wilhelm, *Or* n.s. 61 [1992] 130 f.), der Name eines Wadis *Ḫižm=ar=g(e)=o=šši RA* 23, 144, Nr. 10:6, der Name eines Ruinenhügels *Kinup=ḫ(e)=o=šši* (s. J. Fincke, RGTC 10, 142), der Name einer *dimtu Ipḫ=o=šši* (s. J. Fincke, RGTC 10, 119) und die Feldbezeichnung *sadar=o=šše* (s. *CAD* S 198) angeschlossen werden; cf. auch das im Zusammenhang mit einer Peitsche genannte Wort *sadr=o=šši* (*CAD* S 198).

[100] z.B. *paš=i=en* "er möge (ihn) schicken!," *tad=aš=id=en* "sie mögen (uns) lieben!," *itt=id=en* "sie mögen gehen!"

[101] Ch. Girbal, hat in seinem Aufsatz "Der Pluralisator /t/ in hurritischen Verbformen," *AoF* 16 (1989) 78-83, den Versuch unternommen, die Jussivformen anders zu erklären, als dies bis dahin geschah. Er glaubt ein Pluralelement *-t-* nachweisen zu können und möchte daher auch das bisher als *-id-* segmentierte Pluralgrammem im Jussiv auf ein Jussivgrammem *-i-* und eben jenes Pluralgrammem *-t-* aufspalten. Dieser Ansatz ist aus mehreren Gründen nicht tragfähig. Girbal identifiziert den Vokal *-i-* in einer Form wie *paš=i=en* "er möge (jdn./etwas) schicken" mit dem *-i-* des Suffixes *-id-* in einer Form wie *itt=id=en* "sie mögen gehen" und schließt daraus, daß wegen der Intransitivität der letzteren Form auch das *-i-* der ersteren kein Transitivitätszeichen sein kann. Dies ist aber deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil die Jussivformen der Tišatal-Inschrift gerade dort den "althurritischen" Transitivität/Ergativität anzeigenden Vokal *-o-* aufweisen, wo Formen des Mit.-Briefes wie *paš=i=en* ein *-i-* enthalten. Dies spricht dafür, dieses *-i-* als den Transitivitätsanzeiger zu bestimmen. Die Behauptung, derselbe Vokal sei auch in intransitiven Formen anzunehmen, ist - wie Girbal einräumt - unbegründet, da die einzige heranzuziehende Form nicht beweiskräftig ist. Entscheidend ist aber nun die Beobachtung, daß das Pluralzeichen *--id-* in der Sprache der hurr.-heth. Bilingue ebenso wie im Urartäischen im Indikativ begegnet, der *i*-Vokal also nicht Jussivzeichen sein kann; s. bereits G. Wilhelm, *Or* n.s. 61 (1992) 138, was bei Ch. Girbal, *SMEA* 34 (1994) 85 (1. Zeile: "(*i*) Jussiv + *t*

Auf eine möglicherweise gleich gebildete Form in einer hurritischen Beschwörung aus altbabylonischer Zeit hat M.L. Khačikyan hingewiesen.[103]

l. 11, 21: *e-me-ni* entspricht, wie schon Nougayrol sah, der Form *ḫe=mē=nn* des Mittani-Briefes.[104] Das Fehlen des *-n*, das Nougayrol irritierte und zu einer äußerst gewagten Hypothese anregte, könnte mit einem phonotaktischen *n*-Verlust vor Konsonant erklärt werden, den I. Wegner bei Jussivformen in Ḫattuša entdeckt hat.[105]

l. 12, 22: *da-áš-bi* ist von Nougayrol nach dem Zusammenhang richtig als "détruire" ("zerstören") gedeutet worden. Den von ihm erwogenen Zusammenhang mit dem Namen des Wettergottes Teššob wird man aber verwerfen müssen, auch wenn dieser noch keine wirklich überzeugende Ableitung gefunden hat. Der Themavokal *-i* kennzeichnet in der hurr.-heth. Bilingue ebenso wie im Mittani-Brief Transitivität in nichtergativischer Konstruktion; die Form *tašp=i* läßt sich ebenso deuten.[106] Allerdings verwundert die Abwesenheit des Personalsuffixes der 3. Ps. *-b*,[107] denn der

Pluralisator"), jedoch unberücksichtigt geblieben ist. Bereits M.L. Khačikyan hatte in ihrem Aufsatz "Dialektnoje členenije churritskogo jazyka," *Drevnij Vostok* 3 (1978) 46 (engl. Res. 261) das Suffix *-id-* für Indikativformen angesetzt, doch weisen die dafür S. 43 beigebrachten beiden Belege aus hurritischen Beschwörungen der altbabylonischen Zeit ein Element *-ud-* (falls so zu segmentieren), nicht *-id-* auf; da der Kontext ganz unklar ist, könnte man hier auch an das negative Formans *-ud-* denken, das durch die hurr.-heth. Bilingue bekannt geworden ist. Jedenfalls tragen die beiden Belege den weitreichenden Schluß nicht.

[102] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 129, Anm. f. S. auch M. L. Khačikyan, *Churr.*, 109.

[103] [*ḫ*]*a*$^{?}$*-tu-e-en VS* 17 (= NF 1), 5:13; cf. M. L. Khačikyan, *Churr.*, 89. Ein Stamm *ḫad-* ist auch in einer Beschwörung aus Mari bezeugt: *ḫa-tu-di-en* Mari hurr. 5:19.

[104] *i-i-e-me-e-ni-*[*i-i*]*n* Mit. II 62.

[105] I. Wegner, "Phonotaktischer *n*-Verlust in Jussivformen des Boğazköy-Hurritischen," *Or* n.s. 59 (1990) 298-305.

[106] Cf. auch I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU*, 139 n. 148.

[107] E. Neu, StBoT 32, 102, denkt bei hurr. *-b* stattdessen eher an eine Aspektmarkierung. Da die entsprechende negierte Form auch in der Bilingue nie ein *-b* aufweist (*an=ašt=i=kki*, *an=i=kki KBo* 32, 15 I 21', 22', 23', jeweils prädikativ), könnte man auch an eine Assertionsmarkierung denken. Jedoch gilt auch im Urartäischen *-bə* (graphisch *-bi*) als das Kennzeichen der 3. Ps. Sg. in intransitiver Konstruktion. Wenn auch die Endung der transitiven Verbalformen mit Ergator der 1. Ps. Sg. und Objekt der 3. Ps. Sg., die graphisch ebenfalls als *-bi* erscheint (z.B. *a-gu-(ú-)bi* "ich führte ihn" [sc. den Kanal]), damit identisch wäre (Subjekt in intransitiver Konstruktion = Objekt in transitiv-ergativischer Konstruktion), wäre das Suffix als Personalmarkierung erwiesen. Daß dem so ist, soll an anderer Stelle wahrscheinlich gemacht werden. Allerdings setzt Diakonoff im letzteren Falle /*və*/ an,

Schwund des *-b* gilt als ein wichtiges Merkmal des allgemein als jung angesehenen Dialekts des Mittani-Briefes. Allerdings ist auch in einem in mancher Hinsicht altertümlichen Text wie der hurr.-heth. Bilingue gelegentlich *b*-Abfall zu konstatieren.[108]

Die Wurzel *tašp-* ist in dieser Form anscheinend sonst nicht belegt. M. Salvini schlägt vor, die Wurzel *tapš-* als Metathese von *tašp-* aufzufassen.[109] Dies ist möglich, doch bedarf es noch weiterer Hinweise auf die Grundbedeutung der Wurzel *tapš-*.[110]

l. 14: Die Form *da-áš-pu-in* entspricht in formaler Hinsicht genau dem oben bereits besprochenen Jussiv *ša-ak-ru-in* in Z. 10.

l. 15: Die Kopie zeigt am Anfang der Zeile das Zeichen AN und am Zeilenende eine leichte Beschädigung und eine gestrichelte Linie. Schon die Ersteditoren sahen hier den Namen des sumerisch-akkadischen Himmelsgottes,[111] und alle weiteren Bearbeiter sind ihnen darin gefolgt. Ein Zweifel ist hier allerdings insofern angebracht, als der Gott An zwar im Mythos vom Königtum im Himmel als Vater des Kumarbi zu den "uralten Göttern" gehört, aber keine größere Rolle in den Kulten des hurritischen Sprachraumes oder in der Namengebung[112] spielt. Er bleibt wohl weitgehend ein Konzept religiöser Gelehrsamkeit, zumal die Vorstellung eines aktiven Himmelsgottes, der einen Kult empfängt und an den man Gebete richtet, sowohl mit dem hurritischen Elementarkonzept numinoser Naturmächte "Erde" (*eže*)—"Himmel" (*ḫavurni*), "Berge" (*paban=na*)—"Flüsse" (*šiiḫe=na*), das bereits in den hurritischen Beschwörungen aus Mari begegnet,[113] als auch mit dem himmlischen Königtum Teššobs kollidiert. Allerdings

da er das Ergativsuffix der 1. Person *-aw* im Hurritischen vergleicht.

[108] Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 32 (1996) 102 für *ḫill=i(=b)* *KBo* 32, 14 I 52, Rs. 38.

[109] M. Salvini, in: *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire*, Tome 96 (1987/88) 179-182.

[110] Cf. G. Wilhelm, *SMEA* 29 (1992) 249-253.

[111] Parrot/Nougayrol, *RA* 42 (1948) 11, 14.

[112] Die Namen *Anum-ḫirbe* und *Aniš-ḫurbi* enthalten im ersten Glied nicht den Namen des Himmelsgottes, wie früher angenommen wurde, sondern (in Übereinstimmung mit der hurritischen Personennamengebung) Verbalformen, die von der Wurzel *an-* (trans.: "erfreuen") gebildet sind; cf. G. Wilhelm, in: Amurru 1, 176 n. 15.

[113] *VS* 17 (= NF 1) 5:8-10: *pa-ba-ni ... ši-e-ni ... e-ši ... [ḫ]a-wu-ru-na*; Mari hurr. 5:8-9: *pa-pa-na-šu-uš ... ši-ie*(WA)*-na-šu-úš* (beide Erg. Pl.). Für Belege aus Ḫattuša cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, "Zum

kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß dem Gotte An in Urkeš, dem Kultort des Kumarbi, eine größere Bedeutung zukommt als andernorts in der hurritischen Welt. Gleichwohl kann man fragen, ob am Ende der Z. 15 nicht ein Logogramm für einen Götternamen zu ergänzen ist.[114] Die Kopie gibt allerdings eine so weitreichende Zerstörung der fraglichen Stelle nicht an. Daher ist vielleicht der anderen Lesungsmöglichkeit der Vorzug zu geben, die hier zum ersten Mal erwogen wird. Die Gottheit, die das Gebet des Frevlers nicht erhören soll, dürfte am ehesten dessen persönliche Gottheit sein. Das beschädigte oder getilgte Zeichen könnte eventuell ein *-[s]Ú*[??] sein. Allerdings bliebe bei dieser Hypothese der Grund der Tilgung unerklärt, wenn denn tatsächlich eine solche vorliegt.

Der Ergativ, der hier vorauszusetzen ist, ist ebensowenig geschrieben wie in Z. 1.

l. 16: Nougayrol erkannte in dieser Zeile, ausgehend von dem gesicherten Subjekt (ein Gott) und der ebenso sicheren Bestimmung der Verbalform als Ableitung von *ḫaž-* "hören," ein Wort für "Gebet, Bitte."

Zum Vergleich führte er einen Infinitiv aus der Nuzi-Urkunde JEN 135:6[115] an, den er ohne Angabe von Gründen zu **ḫé-wə-[ḫu-]um-ma* ergänzte. Als Übersetzung akzeptierte er den Vorschlag von C.H. Gordon, der hier eine Entsprechung zu akk. *šâlu*[116] sah und daher "I conducted an investigation" übersetzte. H. Lewy dagegen las *ḫé-wi-[r]u-um-ma* und ließ das Wort unübersetzt.[117] Hayden wiederum las *ḫé-wa-[du]-um-ma* und übersetzte "And I have made the rounds of the cities."[118] Er folgt hier

Churrischen Lexikon," *ZA* 46 (1940) 85-98, wo nun nach neuerer Erkenntnis die Bedeutung von *eže* und *ḫavurni* ausgetauscht werden muß; cf. dazu zuletzt E. Neu, StBoT 32 (1996) 187 n. 181.

[114] Diese Erwägung liegt meiner Übersetzung "der (Wetter)gott(??)" zugrunde, s. G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge*, 1982, 15; cf. auch idem, *The Hurrians*, Warminster 1989, 11. Da der Wettergott unter den drei Göttern der Fluchformel Z. 20 erst an dritter Stelle genannt ist, ist diese Übersetzung und die ihr zugrundeliegende Ergänzung wohl aufzugeben.

[115] Nach der Bearbeitung bei C. H. Gordon, "An Akkadian Parallel to Deuteronomy 21:1ff." *RA* 33 (1936) 3-5.

[116] Cf. l. 6 (*iš-ta-lu-uš*) und 13 (*ni-iš-ta-lu-uš*) des Textes, in dem es in der Tat um eine Befragung der Bewohner mehrerer Dörfer geht; zum inhaltlichen Zusammenhang cf. H. Lewy, "The Nuzian Feudal System," *Or.* n.s. 11 (1942) 326-347; R.E. Hayden, *Court Procedure at Nuzu*, Diss. Brandeis University 1962, 119-130; G. Dosch / K. Deller, "Die Familie Kizzuk: Sieben Kassitengenerationen in Temtena und Šuriniwe," *SCCNH* [1] (1981) 91-113.

[117] H. Lewy, l.c., 342 f.

[118] R. E. Hayden, l.c., 123 f.

offenkundig *CAD*, wo dieselbe Lesung und Übersetzung zu finden ist.[119] Der von Chiera kopierte Zeichenrest paßt allerdings nicht zu DU, denn der untere Waagerechte ist nicht gebrochen, und vor dem Winkelhaken ist ein Senkrechter angedeutet. Er paßt—wie schon H. Lewy gesehen hat—besser zu RU, und eine solche Lesung würde auch in morphologischer Hinsicht ein befriedigenderes Resultat ergeben, da in diesem Falle die häufig belegte Wurzelerweiterung mit iterativer Bedeutung *-ar-* vorläge. Eine Wurzel *ḫev=ar-* ist öfter bezeugt, anscheinend insbesondere in einer nominalen Ableitung, doch bleibt die Bedeutung unklar.[120]

Der von Nougayrol angenommene Zusammenhang mit dem JEN 135:6 bezeugten Verb ist jedenfalls zweifelhaft, zumal der Vokal gegenüber dem zur Diskussion stehenden Nomen der Tišatal-Inschrift abweicht.[121] Als unabhängige Bestätigung des Ansatzes *ḫav*V "Gebet" kann die Nuzi-Stelle also nicht gewertet werden.

Eine Wurzel *ḫav-* ist verschiedentlich belegt, doch reicht der Kontext in keinem Falle aus, einen Zusammenhang mit *ḫav*V "Gebet" der Tišatal-Inschrift herzustellen.

Bereits Nougayrol erkannte die Auslautschreibung *-ʾà-a* als Possessivsuffix der 3. Ps. Sg. und identifizierte sie mit dem Possessivsuffix der 3. Ps. Sg. *-i̯a*, wie es in Ḫattuša bezeugt ist. Dieser Deutung hat sich auch Diakonoff angeschlossen, der den Sachverhalt aber noch dahingehend präzisiert, daß es sich hier um ein archaisches Phänomen handele, da die Form *-i̯a-* später nur unter Akzent vor einem weiteren Enklitikon stehe.[122] (Die vorliegende Form kann als Absolutiv keine weitere Endung haben.) Es muß offenbleiben, ob für É hier ein Lautwert **ia*$_x$ angesetzt werden darf oder ob ein Lautwandel zugrundeliegt. Wenn E. Laroche als Possessivsuffix der 3. Ps. Sg. auch für zahlreiche Formen des Mit.-Briefes *-a* ansetzt, so beruht dies allein auf der Form *ašta* in der akk.-hurr. Bilingue aus Ugarit, in der die akk. Entsprechung *marḫ ēta-šu*

[119] *CAD* Ḫ, 178 sub **ḫ ewadu*. (Das *CAD* abstrahiert hier wie sonst aus den hurritischen Infinitiven auf *-umma* fälschlich ein Nomen im akkad. Nominativ; richtig wäre der Ansatz der jeweiligen Verbalwurzel). An derselben Stelle wird die Lesung *-⌜du⌝-* geboten, leider ohne Angabe, ob die damals in Chicago befindliche Tafel kollationiert wurde. W. von Soden, *AHw* 342b sub *ḫ ewatumma*, schließt sich dem *CAD* in der Lesung und mit der Übersetzung "bereisen?" an.

[120] Cf. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 100 sub *ḫebar-*.

[121] Die Wiedergabe der Form in JEN 135:6 als "*ḫ awuḫ umma*" bei I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 111 n. 123, beruht hinsichtlich des ersten Vokals auf einem Versehen.

[122] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 109 n. 116. Im Hurritischen des Mittani-Briefes lautet es auch in dieser Position nur *-i-*.

lautet.[123] Für einen exakteren Ansatz des Possessivsuffixes der Tišatal-Inschrift reicht dies nicht aus.

l. 17: *ḫa-šu-e-in* ist, wie schon Nougayrol richtig übersetzte, ein Vetitiv, d.h. die negierte Form des Jussivs, von der Wurzel *ḫaž-* "hören." Die entsprechenden Formen des Mittani-Briefes weisen die Endungen *-i=vā=en* auf (z.B. *ḫaž=āž=i=vā=en* "er möge (sie) keinesfalls anhören" Mit. IV 110). Die Form des Negativsuffixes (*-ve-*) weicht im Vokal also deutlich von der des Mittani-Hurritischen ab. *ḫa-šu-e-in* enthält sicherlich wie die Jussivformen in Z. 10 und 14 den Themavokal *-o-*, der Transitivität und Ergativität anzeigt und der dieselbe Position einnimmt wie das Transitivzeichen *-i-* in den Vetitivformen des Mittani-Briefes.[124]

l. 18: ^{d}NIN *Na-gàr*^{ki}: Diese Gottheit ist seit präsargonischer Zeit in Mari bezeugt und genießt noch in altbabylonischer Zeit hohes Ansehen in weiten Teilen Obermesopotamiens, wie eine Prozession durch mehrere Stadtstaaten zeigt.[125] Für eine Identifikation von Nagar mit Tall Brāk hat J.-M. Durand plausible Argumente geliefert.[126]

l. 19: ^{d}UTU-*ga-an* Der Name des hurritischen Sonnengottes erscheint hier als *a*-Stamm, wie dies auch in Personennamen aus Tall ar-Rimāḥ (*Ḫa-zi-ip-ši-mi-ga OBTR* 218:4, 231:18, 322 II 14') Tall Šāġir Bāzār (*Ḫa-zi-ip-ši-mi-ga* AOAT 3/1, 7 III 4, 45 III 11), in Tigunānu[127] (*Eḫ-li-ip-ši-mi-ka* Prisma VII 21, *Ḫa-aš-ši-mi-ga* Prisma VII 48) und Nuzi (s. *NPN* 257b) der Fall ist. Gegen eine Identifikation mit dem in Mari

[123] Zur Problematik cf. G. Wilhelm, *Or* n.s. 54 (1985) 487 f.

[124] Der *o*-Vokal vor intransitiven negierten Formen wie *ur=o=v(a)=en* "er möge nicht vorhanden sein!" ist hiervon zu trennen und wohl mit dem gleichlautenden Vokal vor den intransitiven negierten Indikativformen wie *ur=o=kko* "er existiert nicht" (Zustandsverb) oder *un=o=kko* "er kommt nicht" (Bewegungsverb) zusammenzustellen.

[125] M. Guichard, "Au pays de la dame de Nagar," in: D. Charpin / J.-M. Durand, *Florilegium marianum 2, Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 3), Paris 1994, 235-272.

[126] J.-M. Durand apud D. Charpin, "A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḫat," in: S. Eichler e.a., *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya* 2 (OBO-SA 8), Freiburg/Schweiz - Göttingen 1990, 68 cum n. 7.

[127] M. Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Documenta Asiana 3), Roma 1996.

bezeugten Gott Šamagan[128] hat sich M. Krebernik mit dem gewichtigen Argument geäußert, abgesehen von dem anderslautenden Vokalismus gebe es keinen Hinweis auf einen Sonnengottaspekt des Šamagan.[129] Das auslautende *-n* ist mit Diakonoff als Konnektivum *-an* zu deuten,[130] das—jedenfalls nach der Syntax des Mittani-Briefes—bei einer drei- und mehrgliedrigen Reihung nicht nur am letzten, sondern an jedem einzelnen Glied stehen kann. Wenn in der folgenden Zeile die Konjunktion fehlt, so muß dies (mit Diakonoff) nicht sprachwirklich sein, vielmehr entspricht es der bereits in Z. 3 und 5 beobachteten Praxis, Endungen nach Logogramm defektiv zu schreiben.

Die drei Götter sind das Subjekt des Jussivs in Z. 25, zu dem der Relativsatz Z. 21 f. das direkte Objekt ist; es wäre also zu erwarten, daß die Namen im Ergativ stehen. Da aber bei der Komplementierung in Z. 19 das Ergativsuffix in der Schrift erscheinen müßte, geht es wohl nicht an, die drei Götternamen mit Diakonoff, l.c., als Ergative zu bestimmen und das Fehlen der Ergativendungen auf der Ebene der Schrift zu erklären. Ich möchte eher wie in Z. 1-3 mit einem Anakoluth, einer Art *absolutivus pendens*, rechnen.

l. 23 f.: *in-u-be i-na-u-be*: Nougayrol hat dieses seltsame Wortpaar durch Heranziehung des Zahlwortes *nube/i* "10.000" zu bestimmen versucht.[131] Dies ist semantisch einleuchtend, eine überzeugende morphologische Absicherung dieser Deutung steht allerdings immer noch aus.

l. 24: *ši-ti-in*: Die Bestimmung der Verbalwurzel als *šid-* "verfluchen" war erst mit der Entdeckung des viersprachigen S[a] aus Ugarit möglich, das den folgenden Eintrag enthält: *[a-r]a-ru* = *ši-da-ar-ni* R.S. 20.149 III 16'.[132] So weit ich sehe, stellte F. W.

[128] So in der Übersetzung bei I. J. Gelb† / B. Kienast, FAOS 7, 1990, 382, wo auch *-an* als phonetisches Komplement aufgefaßt wird.

[129] M. Krebernik, *ZA* 81 (1991) 139.

[130] I. M. Diakonoff, *HuU* 111 n. 123.

[131] Cf. auch Diakonoff, *HuU* 111 n. 123: "viel, vielmals;" I. J. Gelb† / B. Kienast, FAOS 7, 1990, 382 fälschlich "tausendmal tausendmal;" cf. zuletzt E. Neu, StBoT 32, 402 f.

[132] E. Laroche, "Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra," in: *Ugaritica* 5 (= MRS 16), Paris 1968, 455; J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32), Atlanta 1987, 26, 40, 57.

Bush als erster die Verbindung her und setzte einen Stamm *šid-* "to curse" an,[133] freilich ohne auf die formale Problematik der Form einzugehen. Da als Subjekt der Handlung nur die drei Götter der Zeilen 18-20 infrage kommen, erwartet man das Pluralsuffix des Jussivs, das im Hurritischen des Mittani-Briefs *-id-* lautet. Nach Analogie von Formen wie *ped=ešt=id=en* Mit. III 28 würde man **šid=id=in* erwarten. Aus diesem Grund hatten Nougayrol und auch noch Diakonoff[134] als Wurzel *še-* angesetzt. Die hurr.-heth. Bilingue hat aber nun eine gleichartige Form mit einer auf Dental auslautenden Wurzel geliefert, bei der ebenfalls der *i*-Vokal fehlt: *ku-ut-te na-a-li ke-e-bi-il-la-a-šu-uš* KBo 32,14 I 11 f. "Zu Fall bringen mögen die Jäger das Reh!" Dem Jussiv liegt die aus anderen Zusammenhängen der Bilingue bekannte Wurzel *kud-* "zu Fall bringen" zugrunde. Das Pluralzeichen *-id-*, das an anderen Stellen desselben Textes voll erhalten ist,[135] erscheint hier ohne den Vokal. Das Fehlen des auslautenden *-n* des Jussivs erklärt sich aus einer phonotaktischen Besonderheit der hurritischen Texte aus Ḫattuša.[136]

Der Wert der Tišatal-Inschrift für die hurritische Sprachgeschichte ist nicht hoch genug einzuschätzen. Insbesondere ist die Frage des Verwandtschaftsgrades zwischen dem Hurritischen und dem Urartäischen eng mit diesem Text verknüpft. Die Frage, die im Verlaufe der Forschungsgeschichte höchst unterschiedlich beantwortet wurde, lautet: "Haben die beiden Sprachen ... sich vor den ältesten schriftlichen Fixierungen hurritischer Sprache im späten 3. Jahrtausend getrennt, ist dies zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt erfolgt oder ist das Urartäische gar die Fortsetzung des Hurritischen?"[137] Die Frage kann hier nicht in allen Aspekten neu untersucht werden. Es steht jedoch außer Frage, daß die Sprache der Tišatal-Inschrift größere Nähe zu dem hurritischen Dialekt zeigt, der jetzt in der Bilingue aus Hattuša deutlicher greifbar geworden ist, als zu der Sprache des Mittani-Briefes. Wenn als Begründung für eine frühe Trennung des Urartäischen vom Hurritischen die engere Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Urartäischen und der Sprache der Tišatal-Inschrift angeführt wurde, so ist dieses Argument nun nicht mehr stichhaltig, denn offenkundig setzte sich ein Dialekt, der mit dem der Tišatal-

[133] F. W. Bush, *GHL* (1964) 69.

[134] *HuU* 111 n. 123.

[135] Cf. *ḫa-a-i-te(-in)* "sie mögen nehmen!" *KBo* 32,14 I 12, 13.

[136] Cf. I. Wegner, *Or* n.s. 59 (1990) 298-305.

[137] G. Wilhelm, in: V. Haas, Xenia 21, 1988, 53.

Inschrift eng verwandt war, bis in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jts. fort und existierte gleichzeitig mit und neben dem Dialekt des Mittani-Briefes. Das Urartäische könnte also jenen archaischeren hurritischen Dialekt fortsetzen und hätte in den ca. 400 Jahren, die die letzten hurritischen Zeugnisse aus Ḫattuša und die ältesten urartäischen Inschriften trennen, genügend Zeit zu einer eigenständigen weiteren Entwicklung gehabt. Als beweiskräftig für die Annahme einer frühen Trennung des Urartäischen wären also nur solche Formen der Tišatal-Inschrift, die sich in der Sprache der Bilingue (und anderer Texte aus Ḫattuša) nicht (mehr) finden, wohl aber im Urartäischen vorkommen. Das auffälligste archaische Merkmal der Tišatal-Inschrift, die Bewahrung des transitiv-ergativischen Themavokals *-o-* im Jussiv (und Vetitiv), ist im Urartäischen bisher nicht mit Sicherheit beobachtet worden, doch könnten (mit M.L. Khačikyan) Formen wie *[tú]-ru-ti-né-e-né UKN* 99:10 hierfür in Anspruch genommen werden.[138] Ein Phänomen, das ebenfalls nach bisherigem Kenntnisstand das Urartäische exklusiv mit der Sprache der Tišatal-Inschrift verbindet, ist das Relativum *alə*, das sich aus dem Demonstrativum *ʾalli* entwickelt haben dürfte.

Dies sind zunächst nicht mehr als zwei Indizien dafür, daß das Urartäische einen archaischen hurritischen Dialekt fortgesetzt haben könnte, der nicht im wesentlichen identisch ist mit dem der hurr.-heth. Bilingue (und anderer Texte aus Ḫattuša). Es ist zu hoffen, daß der Fortgang der Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Mōzān Material liefert, das auch in dieser Hinsicht größere Klarheit schafft.

[138] Cf. M. L. Khačikyan, *Churr.*, 110.

9

Horse Symbols and the Name of the Horse in Hurrian

Vyacheslav Vs. Ivanov
University of California, Los Angeles

One of the first important results of the Mozan/Urkesh excavations, at least from the point of view of Indo-European studies, has been the discovery of a beautiful sculptural image of a horse head dating from the middle of the third millennium.[1] Following findings have shown a number of horse figurines coming from the store room of Tupkish's palace (about 2200 B.C.), some of them representing the domesticated animal.[2] These numerous figurines belonging to the next period of the history of Urkesh in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C. make it clear that the horse was extremely important for the life of the society. Particularly interesting seem horse figurines showing the harness and thus documenting the use of horses in transportation.[3]

These unique signs of the role of the horse in the Northern part of the Mesopotamian area on the border of Asia Minor can be compared to the previously discovered earlier statuettes and vase drawings of horses and other equids in Mesopotamia, Elam (Susa) and adjoining areas of Iran.[4] Chronologically close to the latter are bones of horses found

[1] Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati 1988, pl. 1. For much later representations of the horses, possibly continuing the same Hurro-Urartian tradition, one may compare for instance a horse head from Karmir-Blur (Piotrovskij 1962, 341, fig. 49). Other Urartian horse images: Khodzhash a.o. 1979, fig. 60, 124; Piotrovskij 1962a.

[2] Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati 1997 and R. Hauser's article in this volume.

[3] See R. Hauser's article in this volume, Ill. 4.

[4] Cf. previous literature in a chapter on the horse: Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995/1984, I, 463-482 with references. The zoological interpretation of some figurines of quadrupeds (cf. for instance an item from Gavra-VI: fig. 109 in Childe 1950, 215) is not always clear. On earlier figurines interpreted by some scholars as the images of the harnessed horse from the Balkanic area in the Northwestern part of the

in Asia Minor in the Bronze Age period. For a comparison to the Mozan/Urkesh discoveries, particularly interesting seem data from the neighboring Norşun Tepe of a much earlier age as well as from other places in Anatolia: Demirci Höyük[5] and Yarıkkaya. From this point of view it is interesting to compare materials pointing to the spread of horses in the Transcaucasian area, particularly the adjacent Armenia (ancient Hajasa and Urartu)[6]; the earliest trace of the horse in Georgia comes from Kvacxelebi in the very beginning of the third millennium B.C.

The Caucasian Caspian area seems to be connected to the Lower Volga culture where the horse sacrifice and the horse cult are documented at a most early age (starting with the border of the fifth and fourth millennium B.C.). The steppe region between Xvalynsk (in the Volga steppes) to the East, Dereivka (on the Middle Dniepr in the North-Pontic region) and the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture to the West has been supposed by some scholars to be a possible area of horse domestication and maybe also a homeland of Indo-Europeans whose spread has been possibly connected with the use of horses.[7] In Dereivka many horse bones (probably showing that this was the favorite food of the population and a main object of hunting) were found. The study of microscopic bit microwear on the premolar teeth of a stallion from Dereivka[8] has been supposed to demonstrate a trace of early domestication; comparable results are found on ten percent of horse premolars from Northern Kazakhstan in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. It is suggested that early horseback riding originated in the same area, leading to enormous changes in the means of transportation.[9] It seems possible that the whole Pontic-Caspian area and the neighboring parts of the Kazakhstan and Western Siberian regions may be important for the early use of the horse as a preferred object of hunting and a cultic animal that later lead to its domestication. No matter where and when exactly (in the fourth-third millennia) the horse had been first used for cultic purposes and then

Circumpontic zone, see Gheorghiu 1994 with references.

[5] Rauh 1981; cf. Boessneck-Driesch 1976.

[6] Arutiunian 1964, 143-195.

[7] Anthony 1986; 1991, 209-213, fig. 1-3; 1995. Details of Dereivka findings: Telegin 1986.

[8] Anthony, Brown 1991; 1991a. On the basis of experimental studies a suggestion has been made that the stallion was bitted over a period of no less than 350 hours of riding: Anthony 1995, 559.

[9] Sherratt 1983; Sherratt and Sherratt 1988; Anthony 1994. According to Anthony horse was used only for riding.

domesticated in this large area, according to several scholars[10] it is only starting with the beginning of the second millennium B.C. that we find direct evidence on its military use to draw chariots in the Ancient Near East.

The Hurrian data found by the Mozan/Urkesh excavations are quite exceptional from this point of view. Here for the first time the use of the horses in a palace economy and everyday life is documented for the last part of the third millennium B.C. For the beginning of the next millennium the role of horses and also of special officials (*RABI SÍ. SÉ.E*) who were in charge of them is known through the Old Assyrian tablets from Asia Minor.[11] Approximately to the same period an archaic Hittite poem (originally composed in the old capital of Nesa=Kanish) mentioning the god Pirwa belongs (it is known through a copy of a later period). In Hittite texts the god is described as being connected to a horse[12] and his name may be traced back to an Indo-European one.[13] Theophorous names containing this element are well represented in the Old Assyrian tablets. The military function of chariots drawn by horses is first attested in the Old Hittite inscription of the king Anitta.[14] The outstanding role of the horse as a main domestic animal and terms connected to its training are well documented in the old version of the Hittite laws.[15] Although it is not clear to what extent the Hurrian cultural influence could be found at this early stage in Asia Minor, in the next period the horse training in the Hittite Empire was apparently at least in part influenced by the Hurrian-Aryan Mesopotamian tradition of Mitanni. The Hittite hippological texts of this time are composed by Mitannians using Mesopotamian Aryan and Hurrian (and also Luwian)

[10] Hančar 1955; Levine 1990, cf. Bosch-Gimpera 1961, 71. The same view: Trifonov 1987, 26, n. 28. To the same period the looped rods might have belonged that had been earlier identified as bridle-bit cheekpieces: Trifonov 1994, 358. Before that period the proto-chariots (without yokes, poles and spokes) were drawn by oxen (indications about these older devices are found also in the Hurrian mythological texts).

[11] Kammenhuber 1961, 13 with references. On the meaning of the term ("an official in charge of charioteers"?) cf. Starke 1995, 121, n. 244.

[12] Kammenhuber ib., 36, n. 142; Otten 1952/1953; Haas 1994, 412-425, 499 (with bibliography). In later Hittite texts besides a sacred horse Erama in the (H)išuwa-festival a deified horse (written logographically ^{d}ANŠE.KUR.RA, KBo XX 245 I 5') is mentioned, Haas 1994, 417, 856, n. 32. But the name of the god is missing here as well as in many places where the horse deity is meant; see the chapter on the horse deities and horse cults in the recent handbook by Haas 1994, 412-428.

[13] Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984/1995, 695-696.

[14] Hrozný 1929; Neu 1974; Starke 1995, 124, 121, n. 244.

[15] Starke 1995, 125.

technical terms.[16] In the light of the Mozan/Urkesh discoveries it seems possible that this Mitannian tradition was not determined only by the Aryan influence, but might be to some extent continuing the older Hurrian customs, as the Urkesh period precedes this Hurrian-Aryan symbiosis of the second millennium B.C.[17] However, linguistic data suggest an earlier Hurrian (or possibly Northern-Caucasian-)Indo-European contact in this particular branch of activity.

The Hurrian name of *horse* is of utmost importance for this problem as well as for the whole question of Indo-European origins and migrations in so far as it is related to the domestication and use of horse.[18]

The name was deduced by Otten from a partial Hurrian-Luwian-Hittite bilingual text belonging to the hippological cycle. After a short Hittite introduction a Hurrian passage mentioning horses (*iš-ši-ya-na-a-ša*) is inserted, then a Hittite translation of a corresponding Luwian fragment follows where the horses are designated by a Sumerian logogram (KUB XXIX 44 + 48 + 55 + KBo VIII 50 = CTH 285,1 Vs.I):[19]

4 *I.NA* É $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$IŠ (=*iš-*[20])*-kán an-da-an* [...]
5 *ši-pa-an-taḫ-ḫi nu* ^{D}P*i-ri-i*[*n-ka*]*r* [^{D}*IŠTAR*]
6 *ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi nu ḫur-li-l*[*i ki-iš-ša-an*]
7 *iš-ši-ya-na-a-ša pa-a-a*[*h-ri-e-e?*][21]
8 ^{D}P*i-ri-in-kar* ^{D}*IŠT*[*AR*
9 *lu-ú-i-li-ma-at ki-i*[*š-ša-an*]

[16] Kammenhuber 1961. On the relationship between native Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian and Aryan traditions in connection to hippology see now Starke 1995.

[17] Still there are such important (Indo-)Iranian borrowings in Hurrian of the early period as *tarri* "fire" (Avestan *ātar* "fire") that is attested in the Hurrian text of a large bilingual written probably in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (Neu 1996).

[18] Hänsel, Zimmer 1994; Adams, Mallory, Miller 1997.

[19] Otten 1953a, 13; 1953, 24-29; Rosenkranz 1952, 3-4; Kammenhuber 1961, 150-151; Starke 1985, 370-371; the text presents a later copy of the original dating around fourteenth century B.C. On the interrelationship of Hurrian and Luwian elements in respect to this text see now Starke 1995, 123 and n. 252.

[20] According to a suggestion by Rüster and Neu 1989, 162, the cuneiform sign for ^{LÚ}IŠ "charioteer, coachman" probably stands for the first syllable *iš* of a Hittite metonymic genitive ^{LÚ}*išmeriyaš* "man of the bridle, a palace official."

[21] A damaged continuation of the Hurrian stem [*fahr-*] "good" should contain one of its derivatives, cf. for those forms that appear in the texts: Laroche 1980, 292-293; Neu 1996, 66, 252, 434.

10 *A.NA* ANŠE.KUR.RA$^{HI.A}$ *an-da aš-š[u-li]*
11 *ar-du-ma-at*

"In the house of the coachmen [...?[22]]= in the stable I am delivering a prayer accompanied with sacrifices. And I am addressing Pir[inka]r (and) [(Hurrian) Ishtar (=Shaushka)]. And I am [speaking in] Hurrian [in the following way]: 'Pirinkar (and) (Hurrian) Isht[ar] (=Shaushka)! [make] the horses prosp[erous!].' 'And in Luwian I [am speaking] in the follow[ing way]: for the prosperity of the horses apply yourselves!'"

The interpretation of the divine name *Pirinkir* (that is connected to the horses and to the stable also in the festival CTH 644[23] and is considered to be a "Pferdegottheit")[24] was given by Laroche[25] on the base of the lexical equivalencies in the bilingual list An found in Meskene/Emar:

N185 NIN.SI$_4$.AN.NA = ^{D}*Wi-re-en-gi-ru-un*

N205 U$_4$.UG = ^{D}*Bé-re-en-gi-ru-un*

N206 U$_4$.UG.URU.KI = ^{D}*Bé-re-en-gi-ru-un ar-ta/du-ma-an-zi*

Thus the goddess *P/Wirinka/ir-* *[*Firinki/ar*] "of the city" (*ardi*) attested in Hurrian Boğazköy texts in a sequence *allai* ^{D}*Pirinkir* "the Lady[,] Pirinkir" [KUB XXXIV 102 II 12) was identified with the Mesopotamian "(Great) Lion(ess)" (one of the images of Mesopotamian Ishtar-Inanna)[26] and with the Babylonian goddess Ninsianna that was

[22] A lacuna may be absent, Kammenhuber, ib.

[23] The horses seem to be the central symbol of the festival: KUB XXIX 56 + KBo VIII 54; 83 + KBo X 44 + KBo XXXIV 172 + VBoT 128 + KUB LI 14 + KUB LIV 43, cf. Kammenhuber, ib., 40-41, n. 4; Haas 1994, 416, n. 36.

[24] Haas 1994, 415-416.

[25] Laroche 1980, 201 and 54; 1989, 10 (spelling *Wirengirun*), N 206 corresponds to ^{D}*ÛM* ^{D}*ÀLI*^{KI}, ^{D}UD.UG = *ÛMU*, cf. important comments in Güterbock 1982, 35; Haas 1994, 415, n. 32 (all the references are to the quotations from the list in Laroche).

[26] See Fauth 1981; Wolkstein 1983, 84-85. On the images of lions in connection to Ishtar see also Trifonov 1987, 23 with further references.

considered to be the planet Venus and was also quite similar to Ishtar or one of her personifications or *avatars*.[27] The image of a shining astral body explains why in the Boğazköy texts the goddess Piringar is a solar disc (KUB XXIX 71 I 13). She appears (as in the passage just cited) as belonging to the group related to Ishtar (Hurrian Shaushka designated by the Mesopotamian logogram for Ishtar). Both deities are bisexual in Mesopotamia (Ninsianna in one Old Babylonian letter[28]) as well as in Asia Minor: in Yazılıkaya Pirinkir belongs to the group of the male gods according to Laroche and Güterbock.[29] In her female image she may be harmful[30] (is related to the sorcery and to the "curse"—Hittite *hurtiyaš*, KBo XXI 41 + Ro 69), and is connected to the temple of the Black Goddess.[31] Her identification to a lion(ess), as seen from the Meskene list cited above, was used by Laroche to confirm the link of her Hurrian name to Sumerian PIRIG.GAL> Hurrian *Piringir*;[32] another etymology links the name to the highest goddess of Elamian pantheon of the third millennium B.C. *Pinikir*.[33]

As suggested by Laroche to the deity PIRIG.GAL, the Hurrian interpretation of which was made possible by the list from Meskene/Emar, the temple had been dedicated that had been built by Tish-atal. His inscription after introducing his title says according to Laroche's reading: *pu-ur-li* ^{D}PIRIG.GAL *pá-ʾà-àš-tum* "(he) built a house=temple of the god(ess) Great Lion(ess)."[34] The main objection that has lead many scholars to accept

[27] Langdon 1926, 18, n. 1, 26, n. 4, 28, n. 4, 30, line 16, 42 with references.

[28] Güterbock, ib., with reference to F.R. Kraus, RA 65 (1971), 30 f. On Hurrian Ishtar cf. Archi 1977, 299ff.; Wegner 1981.

[29] Güterbock 1982, 35, fig. A and C (N 31).

[30] Cf. Langdon 1926, 26, line 16.

[31] Kronasser 1963, 241; Haas 1982, 180.

[32] Laroche 1980, 201; that identification was accepted also by Güterbock, ib. On variants of the name: Haas, Wilhelm 1974, 179. The only possible difficulty consists of the explanation of the final part of the word following the name of the lion(ess). Perhaps one may also think about a possible morphological adaptation; see the type of Hurrian names like *Fazanigar*, Neu 1996, 364, cf. also *Pizikarra* (ib., 592: index s.v.) reminding of *Piringar* (**firiŋa/ir* may be an interpretation for the old Hurrian period, cf. variants *Pi-ri-ki-ir*/*Pi-ri-kir*).

[33] Haas 1994, 415 (with references). As another probable interpretation one might have thought about a combination of *Pirig* with *Na-gar* mentioned later in the same inscription of Tish-atal (see the article by Wilhelm in this volume): *Pirig* + *Nagar* > *Piringar*?

[34] Cf. Parrot, Nougayrol 1948, 14; Diakonoff 1967, 444; Xachikian 1985, 90; Nozadze 1978, 28,n. 44; before the Meskene/Emar discoveries (Laroche ib.) all the scholars followed the Hurrian reading of the divine name as Ner(i)gal as Haas 1994, 542 (see on the same name in the Araphe region ib., 544) still

the reading *Nergal* instead of PIRIG.GAL (see Wilhelm's article in this volume) concerns the geographical and temporal differences in the attestation of the name. But still there is a possibility of a very long Hurrian tradition connected to it. In the light of the recent Urkesh excavations and Meskene lists it can be suggested that the role of horses and their images near the temple (according to Laroche's hypothesis) of the Great Lioness in Urkesh might have been connected to the beginning of this old tradition still continued in the Hurrian hippological rite of the fourteenth century B.C. cited above. Such characteristic symbols as the image of the reclining lion on the seal of Tupkish, the Hurrian king of Urkesh,[35] as well as of the image of the star on the seal of the Urkesh queen may be connected to the iconography of Mesopotamian Inanna-Ishtar approximately of the same period.[36] The bronze lions of Tish-atal in connection to which the inscriptions of the king were written seem to represent the lion(ess) image of the goddess. As to the Hurrian goddess Shaushka designated by the logogram of Akkadian Ishtar there are many indications of the ancient connection of this Mesopotamian and Anatolian goddess to the horse.[37] From the typological studies of the militant goddesses of the type of Hurrian Shaushka some of whom have a lion-like image[38] it is known that one original cult may be split into several deities at the late stages of the development of mythology.[39] The Great Lioness was originally only one of the avatars of Ishtar. Thus for the Urkesh period it might be possible that the Hurrian reading of logographic PIRIG.GAL (if one accepts Laroche's interpretation) might have been **Šauška* that was at the same time **Firiŋa/ir*. But more than half a millennium later the Hittite translation uses the verbal form of the second person plural while addressing both Pirinkar and Ishtar=Shaushka; they have become two separate deities retaining the link to the

does although he cites Laroche's findings. See also remarks against the reading PIRIG.GAL in Wilhelm's article in this volume where the reading *Nergal* is accepted.

[35] Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati 1995-1996; 1996.

[36] See for instance, Williams-Forte 1983, 189, fig. 52; 92; 195, fig. 100;196, fig. 102.

[37] Leclant 1960; Cornil and Lebrun 1972, 13-14; Haas 1994, 414-415. As the Mycenaean Greek 'lady of horses' ([*po-*]*ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* = *Potniāi hiqq*^{w}*eiai*) is at the same time close to Artemis (Lydian *Artimi-*) and to Ishtar (see Levi 1951) it is possible to identify the name of *Artemis* in her function of the goddess of *polis* and the epithet of the Hurrian goddess *ar-ta/du-ma-an-zi* "belonging to the city."

[38] Diakonoff 1990, 100, 145, 158, 159, 170, 215 a.o.

[39] Ib., 229, n. 129.

horses.[40] It is possible that the latter may be explained by the military usage of horses important for the militant goddess. Since in the time of the Hittite Empire Shaushka was protecting mainly or only the members of the ruling Hurrian dynasty[41] it might be interesting that Hattushili III in his biography while praising the protective force of Hurrian Ishtar starts his career as "a man of the bridle." Both this official position of a young prince and his life-long obedience to Ishtar may reflect the ancient Hurrian tradition.

The Hurrian form *iššiyanaša* "to the horses" in the ritual text quoted above contains a postponed (suffixed) definite article *-n-* and a morph of the plural *-š-*. The stem *iššiy-* "horse" has initial vowel *i-*. Most of the other cases in the Boğazköy texts have the initial vowel *e-* written with *Pleneschreibung*: the ergative singular with a suffixed article *e-eš-še-e-ne-e-eš* "by the horse (as an active agent)" (KBo XI 19 Vo 17); an absolutive singular *e-eš-še-ni-e-* (+ the associative-enclitic *ma*, KBo XXI 18 10); a comitative *(e)-eš-ši-ra* in a list of weapons and other military objects KBo XV IIV 23, 37. Thus the main Hurrian shape of the stem may be *ešši-* [ešša-]; the corresponding Urartian noun is always hidden under a logographic writing or its Akkadian complement as in ANŠE. KUR.RA^{MEŠ}-*Ú-Ú* "horses" (=*SISÛ*^{MEŠ}).[42] Since the meaning of the Hurrian word was discovered it has been supposed that it was an old borrowing from an Indo-European satəm dialect.[43] Although it still remains as a possibility the situation seems now more complicated.

It was supposed that the Hurrian name of "horse" might be related to the Northern Caucasian one reconstructed as **ĥɪ[n]čwx̌* on the base of Lezghi **ʔɪnšʷ* > Lezghi *šiw* "steed," Archi *noIš* "horse" (with a probable metathetic initial **n-* and an original week *-*šʷ* seen in the ergative form *niIš-i*); Avar-Andi **ʔičʷa* "horse, mare" > Avar *ču* "horse," Andi *iča* "mare," Akhvakh, Tindi and Karata *ičʷa* "mare"; Lak *čʷu* "horse," Khinalug *pši* "horse"; North-Western Caucasian **čʷə* > Abkhaz a-čə "horse," Adygh šə "horse."[44] If the Hurrian form is traced back to this Northern Caucasian prototype

[40] Still in describing the ritual for the goddess Laroche 1971, 126-127 (CTH N 718 with references) speaks of one deity "Ishtar-Pirinkir;" in the recent computerized version of CTH by B. J. Collins (http://scholar. cc.emory.edu/scripts/ASOR/CTH 718.html) the neutral spelling *ISHTAR pirinkir* was accepted.

[41] Laroche 1966, 293.

[42] The context is not clear: Melikishvili 1960, 158-159.

[43] Otten 1953, 25; Dzhaukian 1967, 52, 181, n. 61.

[44] Nikolayev, Starostin 1994, 520; Diakonoff, Starostin 1986, 34; etymology 67; Starostin 1987, 458.

its relationship to Indo-European may be seen in the light of the general problem of the terms of cattle breeding, agriculture and related semantic fields shared by these linguistic families. In a special work on this subject Starostin suggested that all these terms were borrowed from Proto-Northern-Caucasian (or from a dialect of it) into Proto-Indo-European in the beginning of the fifth millennium B.C.[45] possibly in the area of the Near East to the south of Transcaucasus.[46] But the borrowing of the name for horse (as for many other domestic animals) should be motivated by its domestication. Although really to distinguish between the names of wild and domesticated horses is not easy,[47] still the fact of borrowing points just in this direction and helps to connect linguistic and archaeological data. There is no reason to borrow a name of a wild horse. But immediately after its domestication the name is borrowed together with the necessary technical knowledge. Archaeological data make it possible in the third millennium B.C., less probable in the fourth millennium B.C. (particularly in its second half), but not earlier (see the references above). In linguistic terms that means that the borrowing might have come through the dialects of the Northern Caucasian and Indo-European protolanguages that should have been dispersed by that time. But in that case the main argument given for the direction of borrowing (from Proto-Northern Caucasian into Proto-Indo-European and not the other way) by Starostin loses its force since it applies to the bulk of the oldest borrowings not having a subsystem of simplified phonetic rules and not to one isolated loanword. In that case one should take into consideration the phonetic correspondences. The fricative *šš*[*š*] in the Hurrian name of horse and a corresponding affricate **č* (> *š*) in the forms of the other Northern Caucasian dialects

To accept this Northern Caucasian etymology of the Hurrian word one should suppose that the nasal phoneme had been dropped at an early stage (as in most Northern Caucasian dialects that makes its reconstruction controversial), since otherwise the group **nd-* should have been expected in Hurrian. Blažek 1992, 10, suggests also a link of the Indo-European and North Caucasian word to the Yenisseyan **ku'ś* "horse" (understood by him as a second part of a compound), but see its explanation as a borrowing from a *centum* Indo-European dialect: Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984/1995, 832, n. 2, and another North Caucasian etymology: Starostin 1995, 240. The ancient Northern-Central-Asian area of the homeland of Proto-Yenisseyan (as seen through the hydronyms) seems to lie close to the region of the early spread and possible domestication of horses.

[45] Starostin 1988, 153-154. Among the forms discussed in this way Starostin enumerates also the Northern Caucasian and Indo-European terms for the horse: Starostin 1985, 77, etymology 13; 1988, 114-115, etymology 2.

[46] Starostin 1985, 89. Thus the term "Northern Caucasian" has only a traditional conventional meaning since the protolanguage of the family was spoken in this Southern area.

[47] Hamp 1990; Mallory 1996, 9.

corresponds to a Proto-Indo-European palatal stop *k' that has become an affricate *č and then a fricative š/s in the Indo-European dialects of the *satəm* type[48] (Old Indian *áśva-*, Avestan *aspa-* "horse," Mitannian Aryan *aššu-*, Luwian *aššuwa-*, Lycian *esbe*, Old Lithuanian *ašvá/ešvá*) while fusing with non-palatalized *k in the *centum* dialects (Latin *equus*, Old Irish Ogamic *eq-* > *ep-*, Germanic Runic *ehw-ē*, Gothic *aihwa-*, Tocharian B *yakwe*, A *yuk* "horse.")[49]

From the point of view of general typology a phonetic development of a palatal or palatalized velar stop to an affricate and fricative is a normal one; but the reverse movement from an affricate of dental type to a velar stop seems quite extraordinary.

In connection with the Indo-European name of a horse the idea of borrowing has been often suggested because of the phonological difficulties in comparing the dialects.[50] Practically two quite different, if not completely incompatible, forms can be reconstructed for Indo-European: one that explains the Greek form (maybe as a possible borrowing) and the form *(H)ék'wo- with an initial vowel *e and an original palatal stop *k' + w[51] that existed before the change of palatals in the *satəm* area and is common to all the other dialects including Luwian.

Mycenaen Greek *i-qo* (with a variant *i-po* in a compound *i-po-qo-qo* = later Greek ἱππο-φορβός "horse breeder"[52]) and later alphabetically written ἵππος with a dialectal variant ἴκκος and a proper name Ἴκκος corresponding to it (showing later delabialization) make it possible to reconstruct *hik^{w}k^{w}o- "horse" that has three phonetic features different from the rest of Indo-European and defying normal laws of Greek development:[53] 1) initial *h- (that is absent in the dialectal variant and in some composite proper names with this second element that sets some scholars thinking about relatively late—probably post-Mycenean?— age of this initial); 2) vowel *i* in the root; 3) gemination of intervocalic labovelars (or simple velars in a dialectal variant). These abnormal

[48] The same correspondence is seen in the other borrowings discussed by Starostin 1985, 92, n. 28; 1988, 145-148.

[49] On the name of horse in Indo-European and in separate languages cf. Hamp 1990; Meid 1994; Zimmer 1994; Plath 1994; Eckert 1995; Starke 1995, 118-120.

[50] E.g., Lehmann 1986, 15; 1993, 247.

[51] Hamp 1990; Meid 1994. On the base of the general laryngealists' avoidance of initial vowels a laryngeal (H_1) is reconstructed in the beginning of the word.

[52] Explained by regressive dissimilation: *kw...*g^{w}: Lejeune 1972, 47, n. §33-3; Panagl 1985, 286.

[53] Lejeune 1972, 83, n. 1; 190, n. 2; 280, n. 1; Panagl 1985, 283.

features make it evident that the word does not belong to the ordinary vocabulary. There are several possible explications. An Indo-European protoform **s̥k^{w}o-* "horse"[54] may be reconstructed that can be supposed to have relationship to **ek'wo- > *ek^{w}o-* in its dialectal Western Indo-European *centum* form. A hypothesis based on this reconstruction of the initial **s- > h-* might suggest a link of the Greek **hik^{w}k^{w}o- < *sik^{w}o-* to the Semitic name of *horse*: Akkadian *sısû* (possibly from **sisā'um*, cf. the spelling ANŠE.ZI.ZI = *[^{ANŠE}*sísí*] in Southern Mesopotamian texts at the end of the third millennium B.C.[55]), Aramaic *sūsyā*, Ugaritic *śśw/ssw* (*sswm*, feminine dual *śstm*, also in personal names), Hebrew *sûs*. The Semitic noun has been often thought together with Egyptian *śśm.t*[56] to be borrowed from Indo-European with a possible later reduplication.[57] But if the Semitic word is connected to the Indo-European one practically only the Proto-Greek stem with the initial **s-* seems to present a valid parallel although the reflection of the intervocalic consonants in Semitic is of the *satəm* type. It looks as if the Indo-European dialect interfering with Semitic was a *satəm* one, but with a structure of the initial as in Greek. In the prehistoric Semitic-Greek contacts it was usually Greek that borrowed.[58] If the direction of borrowing in this case was the same the Semitic word itself should have been borrowed earlier from some other language where the intervocalic group was closer to the Greek type.[59]

From a geographical point of view the closest one to Hurrian among the Eastern Indo-European dialects was Armenian. In it a general Indo-European word for *horse* was

[54] Cf. a similar protoform reconstructed by Goetze in an attempt to reconcile forms of different families: Goetze 1962, 35; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984/1995 478, n. 21. The first to propose an old form **sesqw- > seqw-* was Marr 1922; 1933, 142-143, but as usual his brilliant idea is lost among a lot of absolutely fantastic suggestions.

[55] Civil 1966; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984/1995, I, 478.

[56] References to horses start only with the XVIIIth dynasty.

[57] Bibliography by Ellenbogen 1962, 123; Gordon 1967, 450-451 (item 1780). Cf. Ebeling 1951.

[58] Masson 1967; Szemerényi 1974 (with references).

[59] See Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984/1995, 482, on the possible traces of a very old migratory term in Egyptian *sk* "foal of ass," Coptic *sēğ* "foal of an ass, horse" comparable to Old Turk *ešk/g/j/Øäk* "donkey," Classical Mongolian *elĵigen* "donkey" from an Altaic dialectal form common to Turk-Mongol; cf. also in Northern Eastern Caucasian Proto-Tzez-Khvashi *šig^{w}ə "mare" > Tzezi šig^{w}*ə*, in other dialects a name of donkey, Nikolayev, Starostin 1994, 444-445. In many languages a horse was later called by a name initially referring to another equid that before the domestication of horses had been more important from the economic point of view (as donkeys still were at the time of the Old Assyrian colonies in Asia Minor).

substituted by *ji* related to a Vedic poetical *háya*.[60] Pedersen and after him several other scholars[61] suggested that Armenian *ēš* "donkey" reflects the old Indo-European name for the horse; the process might have been described as a chain reaction during which the widening of the sphere of usage of a poetical term (*ji*) lead to a change of meaning of its synonym *ēš*. But according to another idea followed by Benveniste[62] the latter goes back to Sumerian ANŠE "donkey" which in its turn Starostin[63] explains as a borrowed Northern Caucasian term for *horse* discussed above. According to Starostin the Armenian word as well as Mediterranean *Wanderwörter* like Latin *asinus* may be traced back to the Hurro-Urartian source having a suffix *-n*.[64] Having in mind the large number of Hurro-Urartian loanwords in Armenian Starostin's suggestion on the possible connection between Hurrian *eššе* "horse" and Armenian *ēš* "donkey, ass" seems plausible. On this example one may see how difficult it is to distinguish between Hurro-Urartian, Northern Caucasian and Indo-European particularly in the case where the phonetic development caused the shortening of the form and only two phonemes remained.

If the Hurrian name of horse does not come from Proto-Northern-Caucasian but is borrowed from Indo-European (as the phonetic considerations suggest) the closest match in the satəm dialects can be seen besides the Armenian word in the consonant structure of the South Western Iranian form like Old Persian *asa* "horse." The vowel in the Hurrian word if it is a dialectal (Iranian) borrowing still seems to go back to the time before the change **e* > *a*.

But if one supposes that the Hurrian word might have underwent such changes as loss of the labial glide then it (and some other dialectal Northern Caucasian forms) may be derived from the protoforms suggested for Mesopotamian Aryan *aššu-* or Luwian

[60] Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 463 (with bibliography).

[61] Lamberterie 1978, 262-266, n. 1. Werner Winter in his recent study of the word suggested that the Hurrian name of a horse was borrowed from Armenian which meets semantic difficulties: at the time of borrowing the Armenian word should have had the original Indo-European meaning that changed later.

[62] See Ernout, Meillet 1994, 51.

[63] Starostin 1988, 115. The weak part of this etymology is the root element *-n-* which is not well documented in Eastern North Caucasian and is absent both in Hurrian and Western North Caucasian (see above).

[64] Another explanation of the Latin word as a compound **as-onos* "weight-bearer connected to Asia" was suggested by Pisani 1979, 495, who at the same time accepted the link of the Sumerian and Armenian terms.

aššuwa- that would correspond to the idea of the Indo-European homeland being located somewhere close to the oldest Hurrian kingdoms. A *satəm* dialect of Proto-Indo-European that might have been a precursor both of Proto-Aryan and Proto-Luwian might have been a source of (dialectal) Northern Caucasian terms. The Kartvelian form **acua* in which a borrowing either from Northern Caucasian[65] or from Iranian[66] or some other Indo-European[67] source was supposed may be traced back to the same archaic dialect where the old palatals were reflected as affricates and the labial glide was preserved after such an affricate in the name of horse (the vowel *a* can be accounted for both by the rules of later Aryan or Luwian phonology).

It seems that the great Lithuanian scholar Būga was the first linguist to suggest as early as in 1923 in his review of Schrader's *Reallexikon* that the name of *horse* helps to establish the absolute chronology of the Indo-European *satəm* dialects[68] (at that time he could see the *terminus ante quem* in the Mitannian Aryan dialect attested by the middle of the second millennium B.C.). Unfortunately, his remarks being published only in Lithuanian did not find immediate continuation. But we may say now that the chronology of the domestication of horses (starting with the fourth millennium B.C.), of the spread of early Indo-European dialects (the same date according to glottochronology), of the restructuring of consonants in their *satəm* branch and of their contacts to Hurrian and other Northern Caucasian dialects and Kartvelian and Semitic makes it possible to seek for important synchronic intersection of these events around the border of the fourth and third millenniums B.C.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to G. Buccellati, R. Hauser, A. Martin and S. Starostin for fruitful discussion, comments and remarks.

[65] Nikolayev, Starostin 1994, 520-521.

[66] Klimov 1994.

[67] Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 479, 813.

[68] Būga 1961, III, 680-681.

References

Adams, D.Q., Mallory, J.P., Miller, D.A.

1997 "Horse," in *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, ed. J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams, London-Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 273-279.

Anthony, D.

1986 "The 'Kurgan Culture,' Indo-European Origins, and the Domestication of the Horse: a Reconsideration." *Current Anthropology*, 27, 4, 291-313.

1991 "The Archaeology of Indo-European Origins." *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, vol. 19, N 3&4, 193-222.

1994 "The Earliest Horseback Riders and Indo-European Origins: New Evidence from the Steppes," in Hänsel and Zimmer 1994, 185-197.

1995 "Horse, Wagon and Chariot: Indo-European Languages and Archaeology." *Antiquity*, 69, 554-565.

Anthony, D. and D. Brown

1991 "Looking a Gift Horse in the Mouth: Identification of the Earliest Bitted Equids and the Macroscopic Analysis of Bit Wear," in *Early Animal Domestication and its Cultural Context*, ed. P.J. Crabtree, D. Campana, and K. Ryan, MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology, Supplement to vol. 6. Philadelphia:MASCA, The University Museum, 98-116.

1991a "The Origins of Horseback Riding." *Antiquity*, 65 (246), March, 22-38.

Archi, A.

1977 "I Poteri della Dea Ištar ḫurrita-ittita." *Oriens Antiquus* 297-311.

Arutiunian, N.V.

1964 *Zemledelie i skotovodstvo v Urartu (Agriculture and Cattle Breeding in Urartu)*. Erevan: izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Armjanskoj SSR (in Russian).

Blažek, V.

1992 *Historická analýza indoevropské zoologické terminologie (savci) [Historical Analysis of the Indo-European Zoological Terminology]*. Autoreferát diserttace. Brno: Filosofická fakulta Masarykovy University (in Czech).

Boessneck, J. and A. von den Driesch

1976 "Pferde im 4/3 Jahrtausend v. Chr. in Ostanatolien." *Säugetierkundliche Mitteilungen*, 24.

Bongard-Levin, G.M. and V.G. Ardzinba, eds.

1988 *Drevnij Vostok. Etno-kul'turnye svjazi. LXXX. (Ancient East. Ethnocultural Connections).* Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaja redakcija vostochnoj literatury (in Russian).

Bosch-Gimpera, P.

1961 *Les Indo-Européens. Problèmes archéologiques.* Paris: Payot.

Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati

1988 *Mozan 1. Soundings of the First Two Seasons.* Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, vol. 20. Malibu: Undena Publications.

1995-96 "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing." *Archiv für Oriensforschung*, 42-43, pp. 1-32.

1996 "The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes: Festschrift Hans Hirsch* 86, pp. 75-100.

1997 "Urkesh. The First Hurrian Capital." *Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. 60, N2, June, pp. 77-96.

Būga, K.

1958-61 *Rinktiniai raštai (Complete Works).* I-III. Vilnius: Politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla (in Lithuanian, Russian and German).

Childe, V.G.

1950 *New Light on the Most Ancient East.* New York: Grove Press Inc. (reprint).

Civil, M.

1966 "Notes on Sumerian Lexicography, 1." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 20, 3/4, 119-124.

Cornil, O. and R. Lebrun

1972 "La tablette K Bo XVI 98 (2211/c)." *Hethitica.* I, ed. G. Jucqois. Louvain.

Diakonoff, I.M.

1967 *Iazyki Drevnei Perednei Azii (Languages of the Ancient Near East).* Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaia redakciia vostochnoi literatury (in Russian).

1990 *Arxaicheskie mify Vostoka i Zapada (Archaic Myths of Orient and Occident).* Moscow: Vauka, Glavnaja redakcija vostochnoj literatury (in Russian with an English summary, 244-246).

Diakonoff, I.M. and S.A. Starostin

1986 "Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language." *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.* Beiheft 12. Neue Folge. München.

Dzhaukian, G.V.

1967 *Vzaimootnoshenie indoevropejskix, xurrito-urartskix i kavkazskix iazykov (Relationship between Indo-European, Hurro-Urartian and Caucasian Languages).* Erevan: izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Armianskoj SSR (in Russian).

Ebeling, E.

1951 *Bruchstücke einer Mittelassyrischen Vorschriftensammlung für die Akklimatisierung und Trainierung vin Wagenpferden.* Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientsforschung, Veröffentlichung N7.

Eckert, R.

1995 *Wagen und Pferd in Sprache und Kultur der Alten Preussen.* Baltistica, XXX (1), 49-59.

Ellenbogen, M.

1962 *Foreign Words in the Old Testament. Their Origin and Etymology.* London: Luzac & Company.

Ernout, A. and A. Meillet

1994 *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des nots. Retirage de la 4-ième éd.* Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

Fauth, W.

1981 Ishtar als Löwingöttin und die löwenköpfige Lamaštu. *Die Welt des Orients*, 12, 21-36.

Gamkrelidze, T.V. and V.V. Ivanov

1995 *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans, I-II.* Berlin-New York: Mouton-de Gruyter (first published in Russian in 1984).

Gheorghiu, D.

1994 "Horse Head Scepters—First images of yoked horses." *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, vol. 22, N37 4, 221-250.

Goetze, A.

1962 [Review of] "Kammenhuber 1961." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 16, 1, 30-35.

Gordon, C.H.

1965 Ugaritic Textbook. Glossary. Indexes. *Analecta Orientalia* 38. Roma: Pontificium Institum Biblicum (reeditio photomechanica 1967).

Güterbock, H.G.

1982 *Les hiéroglyphes de Yazılıkaya. A propos d'un travail récent.* Institut Français d'études anatoliennes. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Synthèse. N11 (in French and English).

Haas, V.

1982 "Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen." Riten, Kulten und Mythen. Eine Einführung in die altkleinatischen religiösen Vorstellungen. *Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt*, Bd. 10. Manz am Rhein: Verlag Philiipp von Zabern.

1994 "Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion." *Handbuch der Orientalistik.* I Abteilung. bd. 15. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Haas, V. and G. Wilhelm

1974 *Hurritische und luwische Texte aus Kizzuwatna. Hurritologische Studien I (Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Sonderreihe Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients.)* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag/Verlag Butzon & Bercker Keveler.

Hamp, E.P.

1990 "The Indo-European Horse," in *When Worlds Collide: Indo-Europeans and Pre-Indo-Europeans*, ed. T.L. Markey and J. Greppin. Ann Arbor: Caroma Publishers, 211-226.

Hančar, F.

1955 *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit (Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, 11).* Wien.

Hänsel, B. and S. Zimmer, eds.

1994 *Die Indogermanen und das Pferd. Festschrift für B. Schlerath.* Budapest: Archaeolingua, Bd. 4.

Hrozný, B.

1929 "L'invasion des Indo-Européens en Asie Mineure vers 2000 av. J.C." *Archív Orientální*, t.1, 273-299.

Kammenhuber, A.

1961 *Hippologia Hethitica.* Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Khodzash, S.I., N.S. Trukhtanova and K.L. Oganesjan

1979 *Erebuni. Pamjatniki urartskogo zodchestva VIII- VI v.n.e. (Monuments of the Urartian Architecture of the VIII-VI Century B.C.).* Moscow: Iskusstvo (in Russian).

Klimov, G.A.

1994 *Drevnejshie indoevropeizmy kartvel'skix iazykov (The Oldest Indo-European Borrowings in Kartvelian).* Moscow: Naslediye (in Russian).

Kronasser, H.

1963 "Die Umsiedelung der Schwarzen Gottheit. Das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4 (des Ulippi)." *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse.* Sitzungsberichte. Bd. 3.

Lamberterie, C. de

1978 "Armeniaca I-VIII: Études lexicales." *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, t. 73, fasc. 1, 243-285.

Langdon, S.

1926 "A Hymn to Ishtar as the Planet Venus and to Idin-Dagan as Tammuz." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 15-42.

Laroche, E.

1966 *Les Noms des Hittites (Études linguistiques. IV).* Paris: Librairie Klincksieck.

1971 *Catalogue des textes hittites. Études et commentaires, 75.* Paris: Éditions Klincksieck (= CTH; a computerized version by B.J. Collins—http: //scholar.cc.emory.edu.scripts/ASOR/-CTH.html).

1980 *Glossaire de la langue hourrite. Études et commentaires, 83.* Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

1989 "La version hourrite de la liste *AN* de Meskene-Emar." *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus. Janvier—mars.* Paris: Duffision de Brocard, 8-12.

Leclant, J.

1960 "Remarques sur Astarté à cheval." *Syria*, 37, 1-67.

Lehmann, W.P.

1986 *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary.* Leiden; E.J. Brill.

1993 *Theoretical Bases of Indo-European Linguistics.* London and New York: Routledge.

Lejeune, M.

1972 "Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien." *Tradition de l'humanisme IX.* Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

Levi, D.

1951 "La dea micenea a cavallo." *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson on his seventieth birthday*, vol. 1. Saint Louis, MO: Washington University. 108-125.

Levine, M.A.

1990 "Dereivka and the Problem of Horse Domestication." *Antiquity*, vol. 64, N 245, 727-740.

Mallory, J.P.

1996 "The Indo-European Homeland Problem: A Matter of Time." in *The Indo-Europeanization of Northern Europe*, ed. K. Jones-Bley and M.E. Huld. *Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph* N 17, 1-22.

Marr, N.Ia.

1922 'Loshad' || 'ptica,' totem urartsko-etrusskogo plemeni i eshche dva etapa ego migracii ('Horse' || 'bird,' as a totem of the Urartian-Etrurian tribe and the two periods of its migrations). *Iafetichesij sbornik (Recueil Japhetique)*, I, Petrograd, 133-136 (in Russian).

1931 *Izbrannye raboty (Selected writings)*. T.1. Etapy razvitija jafeticheskoj teorii. Leningrad: izdatel'stvo GAIMK (in Russian).

Masson, E.

1967 *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec.* Paris: Klincksieck.

Meid, W.

1994 "Das Terminologie von Pferd und Wagen im Indogermanischen," in Hänsel and Zimmer 1994, 53-65.

Melikishvili, G.A.

1960 *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi (Urartian cuneiform inscriptions).* Moscow: izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR (in Russian).

Neu, E.

1974 *Der Anitta-Text. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.* Heft. 18. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

1996 *Das Hurritische Epos der Freilassung I Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hattuša. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.* Heft 32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Nikolayev, S.L. and S.A. Starostin

1994 *A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary.* Moscow: Asterisk Publishers.

Nozadze, N.A.

1978 *Voprosy struktury xurritskogo glagola (Problems of the Structure of the Hurrian Verb).* Tbilisi: Mecniereba (in Russian).

Otten, H.

1952-53 *Pirva-der Gott auf dem Pferde.* Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung, 2, 2, 62-73.

1953 *Zur grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luvischen. Untersuchung des Luvili-Texte.* Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung N 19. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

1953a *Luvische Texte in Umschrift.* Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientsforschung. Veröffentlichung N 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Panagl, O.

1985 "Hippologia mycenea." *Sprachwissenschatliche Forschungen. Festschrift für J. Knobloch,* ed. H.M. Ölberg, G. Schmidt and H. Bothien. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Bd. 23. Innsbruck, 283-292.

Parrot, A.and J. Nougayrol

1948 "Un document de fondation hurrite." *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* v. 42, N½, pp. 1-20.

Piotrovskij, B.B.

1962 "Urartskaya Kolesnica (Le char d'Ourartou)." *Drevnij mir. Sbornik statej. V.V.Struve-Festschrift.* Ed. N.V.Pigulevskaya a. o. Moscow: Izda-tel'stvo vostochnoj literatury (in Russian with a French table of contents).

1962a *Iskusstvo Urartu (Art of Urartu).* Leningrad (in Russian).

Piotrovskij, B.B., ed.

1985 *Drevnjaja Anatolija.* Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaja redakcija vostochnoj literatury (in Russian).

Pisani, V.

1979 Lexistorica. Latino *asinus*, greco *ovoς* e l'Anatolia. *Studia Mediterannea P. Meriggi dicata* II ed. O. Carruba, Pavia: Aurora edizioni, 495-499.

Plath, R.

1994 "Pferd und Wagen in Mykenischen und bei Homer," in Hänsel und Zimmer 1994, 103-114.

Rauh, H.

1981 *Knochenfunde von Säugetieren aus dem Demircihöyük (Nordwestanatolien).* München (Dissert.)

Rosenkranz, B.

1952 *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Luvischen.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Rüster, C. and E. Neu

1989 *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Beiheft 2.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Sheratt, A.G.

1983 "The Secondary Exploitation of Animals in the Old World." *World Archaeology*, 15, 90-104.

1986 "Wool, Wheels and Plouhmarks: Local Developments or Outside Introductions in Neolithic Europe?" *London Institute of Archaeology Bulletin*, 23, 1-15.

Sherratt, A.G. and S. Sheratt

1988 "The Archaeology of Indo-European: An Alternative View." *Antiquity*, 62 (236), 584-595.

Starke, F.

1985 "Die Keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift." *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.* Heft 30. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1995 "Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden. Eine hippologisch orientierte Interpretation der Kikkuli-Texten." *Studien zu der Boğazköy-Texten.* Heft 41. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Starostin, S.A.

1985 "Kul'turnaia leksika v obshcheseverokavkazskom slovarnom fonde (Cultural Words in the Common North-Caucasian lexical stock)," in Piotrovskij 1985, 74-94 (in Russian with a very short English summary), 250-251.

1987 "Kommentarii k kavkazovedcheskim rabotam Trubetzkogo (Comments on Trubetzkoy's works on Caucasian)," in Trubetzkoy IzBrannye trudy no filslogii (Selected Philological Works). Moscow: Progress, 1987, 437-447; 453-465 (in Russian).

1988 "Indoevropejsko-severokavkazskie izoglossy (Indo-European and North-Caucasian Isoglosses)," in Bongard-Levin, Ardzinba 1988, 112-163 (in Russian).

1995 "Sravnilel'nyj slovar' ienissejskix iazykov (Comparative Yenisseyan Dictionary)," in *Ketskij sbornik. Lingvistika (Studia Ketica. Linguistics).* Moscow: Shkola "Yazyki russkoj kul'tury" / Izdatel'skaia firma "Vostochnaya literatura," 176-315 (in Russian with a very short English summary).

Szemerényi, O.

1974 "The Origins of the Greek Lexikon: Ex Oriente lux." *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, vol. 94, 144-157.

Telegin, D.T.

1986 "Dereivka—A Settlement and Cemetery of Copper Age Horsekeepers on the Middle Dnieper." *British Archaeological Reports*. International Series, N 287. Oxford.

Trifonov, V.A.

1987 "Nekotorye voprosy peredneaziatskix svjazej majkopskoj kul'tury (Some Questions of the Near Eastern Connections of the Maikop culture." *Institut arxeologii Akademii Nauk SSSR. Kratkie soobshchenija (Short Summaries. Institute of Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences), 192.* Moscow: Nauka, 18-26 (in Russian).

1994 "The Caucasus and the Near East in the Early Bronze Age (Fourth and Third millenia B.C.)." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 13, N3.

Wegner, I.

1981 Gestalt und Kult der Istar-Sawuska in Kleinasien. *Alter Orient und Alter Testament*. Bd. 36. Hurritologische Studien 3. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag/Verlag Butzon & Bercker Keveler.

Williams-Forte, E.

1983 "Annotations of the Art," in Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 174-199.

Wolkstein, D.

1983 "Interpretations of Inanna's Stories and Hymns," in Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 136-173.

Wolkstein, D. and S.N. Kramer

1983 *Inanna. Queen of Heaven and Earth. Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Xachikian (=Khačikyan), M.

1985 "Xurritskij i urartskij iazyki (Hurrian and Urartian Languages)." *Xurrity i urarty. 2* (series: Hurrians and Urarteans 2). Erevan: izd. Akademii Nauk Armianski SSR (in Russian).

Zimmer, S.

1994 "Die Indogermaner und das Pferd-Befund und Profleme," in Hänsel and Zimmer 1994.

10

Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective*

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.
The Oriental Institute, Chicago

As we move ever closer to the beginning of a new millennium in the year 2000 it is commonplace to observe that our world is becoming ever smaller, and the fact of our interdependence as members of the human race becomes daily more obvious. This thought is not unfamiliar to any of us. But as the frontiers of our knowledge of the ancient world expand, it also becomes ever clearer that we cannot properly understand any one of *that* world's peoples without reference to its neighbors and its constituent sub-cultures. Some of these sub-groups remain even today mere names. About the Perizzites mentioned in the pages of the Hebrew Bible I can tell you nothing more than what a child in Sunday School or synagogue was able to do a hundred years ago. But thanks to the steady progress of archaeological excavations and improvements in the reading of ancient texts, some previously enigmatic peoples are now emerging from their 4000-year obscurity. The Hurrians first appeared on the pages of ancient history at the end of the 19th century, when the Amarna tablets found in Egypt gave scholars their first glimpse of the complex ethnic and political world of the mid-second millennium before Christ. Over the course of the 20th century discoveries at Boghazköy, Ugarit, Alalakh, Mari, Emar and other sites have indicated just how widespread and influential this ethnic group was. Hardly a single political state of Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, Palestine and Egypt in the mid-second millennium was untouched by their influence.

* Abbreviations (e.g., CTH, KBo, KUB, etc.) follow the system employed by *The Hittite Dictionary of The Oriental Institute*, ed. H.G. Güterbock and H.A. Hoffner, Jr. (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980ff).

The emergence of new evidence from excavations at Tell Mozan by the Buccellatis appears to confirm the suspicion that it is the important Hurrian city of Urkeš. In order to gain perspective, it is proper that we should stop and take a larger look at the Hurrians throughout their history and geographic distribution. I shall provide a Hittite perspective, because more is known at present about the Hurrians from Hittite sources than from those deriving from Egypt, Ugarit, Mari or Emar. I accepted the assignment on the condition that it be understood that I do not personally control the information from areas other than the Hittite kingdom. I speak from the vantage point of my own discipline, which is Hittitology. Hence, the title of this paper: Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective.

Forty-one years ago Hans Güterbock, my predecessor in the chair of Hittitology at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, surveyed what he called "The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire."[1] And while much new data is now available and much of the older data has been reinterpreted, the main lines of his survey remain valid. I have followed the contours of his essay, while enlarging it in those areas which are new.

Political Developments

Hurrian Beginnings in the Near East

We do not know the original homeland of the Hurrians. Linguistically, their language has only one known relative, Urartian, which was recorded in cuneiform on tablets and monuments in the mountainous regions to the north of Assyria from the 9th through the 7th centuries BC. It is possible that these two languages are distant relatives of the Northeast Caucasian languages. But this is not certain.[2]

When Hurrian minor states located in the regions of upper Mesopotamia, northern and eastern Assyria first appear around 2200 BC, they had by that time been inhabiting those areas for several hundred years. Already in these early centuries the ancestors of the historical Hurrians and Urarteans had a reputation for metal-working, for the Sumerian word for "coppersmith" (tabira) derives from

[1] Gütterbock 1954.

[2] A selective list of recent studies of Hurrian grammar follows: Girbal 1992c; 1988c; Neu 1988d; 1992a; Neu 1994; 1996b; Wegner 1992; Wilhelm 1992b; 1992d.

Hurrian *tabiri* "the one who has cast (copper)." The dynasty of the Old Akkadian kings Sargon and Naram-Sin left a deep impression on these early Hurrian kingdoms who had submitted to their sway. Centuries later their exploits were remembered in epics transmitted to the Hittites by the Hurrians.

During the Third Dynasty of Ur—which succeeded the Dynasty of Akkad-Hurrian prisoners of war captured by Šulgi came south into Lower Mesopotamia and their names enter the written records. Hurrian princes ruled minor states in the north during the Ur III Period. One of these was Nineveh.

In the parts of Syria which lie to the west of the Euphrates, the Ebla tablets of the 24th and 23rd centuries attest as yet no Hurrian names, although a large Hurro-Hittite Bilingual text from the 15th century reflects Hurrian traditions about the kings of Ebla. The Old Assyrian tablets from central Asia Minor during the 20th and the 19th centuries likewise attest no Hurrian names north of the Anti-Taurus Mountains, nor are Hurrian states or individuals mentioned in the inscription of Anitta, son of Pitḫana, King of Kanesh.[3] But by the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari, Hurrians were well established north of Aleppo. And by the 18th and 17th centuries BC significant numbers of Hurrians are found in the texts of Alalakh Level VII. Hurrian month names were in use in Alalakh and Yamḫad at that time.

In the region east of the Euphrates the Ur III hegemony was succeeded by the empire of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria. What little is known of Hurrians in that region during this period is drawn from the Mari archives, which come to an end with the destruction of Mari by Hammurapi. We know very little about conditions in this Hurrian heartland from that time until the rise of the Hurrian state of Mitanni in the 15th century.

Wilhelm (in Sasson 1995 1245) notes that the Hurrian language had already expanded into northern Syria beside Canaanite in the 18th century at least, about 100 years prior to the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom in central Asia Minor.

Seen from Afar as a Foreign Culture

During the Hittite Old Kingdom (c. 1700-1450) before significant Hurrian penetration of the Hittite population, they were seen from afar, as a foreign culture. To be sure, in the scant references to them in early Hittite texts, the focus is not on

[3] Neu 1974.

their culture as such but on their status as political entities, specifically as armies which threatened the eastern marches of the Hittite kingdom.

Seeming to contradict my statement that Hurrians are only seen from afar during the Old Kingdom is the opinion once held by influential Hittitologists that the predecessor of Labarna I was a king with a Hurrian name, written BU-LUGAL-ma of which the second component is the name of the Hurrian god Šarruma.[4] But the dating of this prince, the son of a Tudḫaliya, before Labarna I was due to assuming that the sequence of entries in the lists of offerings to deceased royalty was chronological. This is now known to be incorrect. There is no evidence for Hurrian names in the Hittite royal family prior to the kings Tudḫaliya and Arnuwanda of the so-called Middle Kingdom.

As Opponents in Battle

In the early Old Kingdom Hurrians appear in Hittite texts only as opponents in battle. Hattusili I, the first Hittite king to make Hattusa his capital, conducted several military campaigns into North Syria. In these campaigns he fought against kings and armies of Hurrian states. In addition to named city-states which the king fought against—which include Alalakh, Uršum and Zaruna—, he uses the less specific phrase "the Hurrian enemy"[5] to describe a military force which invaded the Hittite heartland from the east during a time in which his own military activity was directed towards western Anatolia. The king's particular choice of words "the Hurrians invaded the land behind my back" suggests not only the compass direction East but a certain opportunism and craftiness. This Hurrian invasion of Hittite heartland (i 24-25) prompted a renewal of the king's Syrian campaigns as a reprisal. Booty from Hurrian sites in Syria included silver and gold cult images, including one of the Hurrian goddess Hebat.[6] Since the cult statue of Hebat was brought back to Hattusa,

[4] Written ^{m}BU-LUGAL-*ma*. See Sommer and Falkenstein 1938 163, 222, 252. Reintrepreted by Laroche 1966 p. 69, no. 371, 2 as "Prince, fils d'un Tudhaliya." The name and the idea that he preceded Labarna I are drawn from the lists of offerings to deceased Hittite kings, on which see Otten 1951. Subsequent important treatments of Hittite chronology are Astour 1989; Freu 1987; Goetze 1957b; Goetze 1968; Gurney 1973; Kammenhuber 1970; Laroche 1955; Otten 1955; Otten 1968; Wilhelm and Boese 1987 and de Martino 1993. The bibliography on Hittite chronology in Sasson 1995 663 is extremely sparse.

[5] LÚ.KÚR ^{URU}*ḪURRI* in the Hittite version of his bilingual annals, KBo 10.2 i 24-26.

[6] CTH 4B(VBoT 13+ KUB 57.48)14-16 DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*Allaitt* ^{d}*Ḫebat* 3 ALAM KÙ.BAB-

this represents the first introduction of a Hurrian deity into the Hittite pantheon. The deities in Hattušili's own circle of gods, whose temples were the recipients of this booty, were not Hurrian. They were the Hittite-Luwian storm-god, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and the (originally Hattian) goddess Mezzulla.

One of the cities mentioned in Hattušili's record of these campaigns is Uršum. Now it happens that we have a literary text composed in Akkadian and called by scholars "The Siege of Uršum." This text, known to Hittitologists since the 1920s, records events during the reign of Hattušili I. Among other things it informs us that the Hittite king instructed his engineers to construct a "Hurrian battering ram"[7] for use against the walls of Uršum. This incident reveals the respect which Hittite army commanders had for Hurrian siege technology.

During the Old Kingdom, Hittite kings appointed governors over provinces and cities which lay on the periphery of the kingdom. These governors came under constant pressure from surrounding kingdoms to shift their allegiance. A composition popularly known as "the Palace Chronicle" contains anecdotes about some of these governors and their misdeeds.[8] One story concerns a certain Šanda, the governor of the eastern province of Haššu(m), who defected to the Hurrians.[9] When the Hittite king recaptured Šanda, he had him mutilated as an example to other Hittite governors on the periphery. This anecdote is about one particular governor, but it underlines a problem which was perpetual: the unrelenting military pressure of the Hurrian states to the east of Hatti during the Old Kingdom.

Although embedded in a Hittite text edited and updated in the New Kingdom, several centuries after its time of composition, a short poem which has come to be called "the oldest known Indo-European poetry" was written on the occasion of the beginning of a Hurrian invasion of Hatti.[10] The narrative introducing the poem says:

[(BAR)]/2 ALAM KÙ.GI *ki: INA* É ^{d}*Mizzu*[(*lla*)]/*pedaḫḫun* "I carried off ... (the goddesses) Allatu and Ḫebat, three silver statues, two gold statues, to the temple of (the goddess) Mizzulla (in Hatti)."

[7] GU_4.SI.DILI (+ Akkad. *yāšibum*) LÚ.MEŠ *ḪURRI* KBo 1.11 obv.! 15', edited by Güterbock 1936 114ff., translated Kempinski 1983 33-41. The GU_4.SI.DILI is also mentioned in the Hittite *šar tamḫari* text KBo 22.6 iv 21, edited Güterbock 1969.

[8] Although this text has never been edited as a complete composition, some recent studies of its grammar and themes may be found in: Neu 1995; Pecchioli Daddi 1994; 1995.

[9] *ḫur-la-aš-ša* ÌR-*aḫ-ta* CTH 8: KBo 3.34 i 24.

[10] The text, catalogued in Laroche 1971 as number 16b, was first published in transliteration by Forrer 1922, 1926 as text 14α and later in cuneiform copy as KBo 3.40. On the "song" see Watkins

"The Hurrians have not yet come and four years have passed. Two men are fighting each other. And (someone) breaks into song." This is followed by the text of the song which reads "Clothes of Neša, clothes of Neša[11] put on me, put on! Bury me alongside my mother—put on me, put on! Bury me alongside my *uwaš*—put on me, put on!" The song—apparently sung in anticipation of battle in which soldiers could be killed—expresses the wish of soldiers of all times to be buried at home with their families. It reminds me of the mournful song of the North American cowboy "O bury me not on the lone prairie." After the song is complete, the narrator sees a great mass of people coming in the distance and asks: "What is this horde?"[12] The answer comes: "Hurrian troops are coming into the land." Now one should not magnify the importance of this one passage, but it supplements the evidence from the Palace Chronicle cited above to give a vivid and memorable view of the relationship between the Hittites during the Old Kingdom and the Hurrian regions to their east.

During the reign of Hattušili I's immediate successor, Muršili I, there were battles against Hurrian states in Syria while the king passed through on his way home from Babylonia. Brief historical notes about Muršili I in texts deriving from the Old Kingdom mention three prominent accomplishments of this campaign: (1) he conquered Aleppo, (2) he sacked Babylon, and (3) he defeated "the Hurrians." The famous Edict of King Telipinu puts it this way: "(Muršili) went to Aleppo (^{URU}*Ḫalpa*), and destroyed Aleppo. He brought Aleppoan captives and its goods back to Hatti. Afterwards he went to Babylon. He destroyed Babylon. He defeated the Hurrians,[13] and brought captives from Babylon and its goods back to Hatti."[14] Now lest you draw the unwarranted conclusion that this was a decisive and conclusive victory over the Hurrians, you should be aware that notices in other historical records referring to the period from Muršili I to the end of the Old Kingdom show that the

1969 239-40; Durnford 1971 70, 75. I interpret crucial phrases differently from Watkins, although he correctly understands the "funereal" aspects.

[11] Perhaps, as Watkins thinks, burial garments.

[12] In 1980 I claimed that the word *walkuwan* meant "horde, multitude" in Hoffner 1980, on the basis of its two contexts, but also because it is probably related to the Proto-Indo-European root of Latin *volgus* (Walde 1965 IV 826f.). The word's only other occurrence is in the Queen of Kanesh tale published in Otten 1973 6-7, 16. Otten tentatively interpreted it as "schlechtes Omen, Unheilverkündendes."

[13] [LÚ.MEŠ]*ḫurluššaš=a ḫullet.*

[14] KBo 3.1 + 28-31, ed. Hoffmann 1984.

Hurrian kingdoms to the east continued to be a threat.[15] Even in this same edict, at a later point and in a fragmentary portion, the enemy is described as "Hurrian foxes,"[16] a metaphor which probably alludes to the craftiness, suddenness and deadliness of Hurrian raids on the Hittite border lands.

Also reflecting military conflicts with Hurrians during the Old Kingdom is the use of the term *ḫurlaš* "The Hurrian" as the name of a token in a rare Old Hittite KIN-oracle.[17] The use of the term "The Ḫurrian" as the name of a token which "takes" and "carries off" other tokens in a manner hostile to Hittite interests is completely parallel to the use of the term "the Enemy" (LÚ.KÚR) as a token name in this same type of oracle in the New Hittite period.

Middle Kingdom Political and Military Conflict

Around 1550 a new dynasty came to power in Hattuša. But the struggle against the Hurrians for control of the eastern border lands continued. After c. 1550 Hurrians are present in sizable numbers in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria and had formed a confederation bearing the name Mitanni with its capital at Waššukanni. The last important ruler of this confederacy, one Tušratta, corresponded with the pharaohs[18] and gave his daughter to Amenophis in marriage. During the 16th and 15th centuries Hittite kings concluded treaties with the Hurrianized kingdom of Kizzuwatna to the southeast.[19] By the early 15th century Hatti had absorbed Kizzuwatna. Hittite power was growing vis-a-vis that of Mitanni, a process which eventually led to the Syrian conquests of Šuppiluliuma I in the early 14th century. By this time Hittite rulers including all the royal ancestors of Šuppiluliuma's dynasty were themselves of Hurrian stock. Their Hurrian origins are apparent from the Hurrian names of their queens (Nikkalmati, Ašmunikkal, Daduḫepa) and the kings'

[15] See de Martino 1991 20, who notes this fact and uses the term "vincitore assoluto" to describe the image of Mursili which he sees in the traditions about the raid on Babylon.

[16] *ḫurluš* KA_5.A.ḪI.A-*uš*, column i, line 43.

[17] "The Hurrian arose, took Its Difficulty, took Destruction, took ..., and carried (them) off (to) The Gods" KBo 18.151 obv. 8-10, edited Kammenhuber and Ünal 1974 164f.

[18] English translations of his letters can be found in Moran 1992.

[19] For English translations of the texts see Beckman 1996 11-21, and for a discussion of the relations with Kizzuwatna see Beal 1986; del Monte 1981; Desideri and Jasink 1990; Jasink 1991; Lebrun 1979.

own alternate names.[20] In the centuries immediately prior to Šuppiluliuma I's reign strong Hurrian influence emanated from the newly annexed province of Kizzuwatna in the Taurus mountains and Cilicia, to the southeast of the Hittite heartland. And within Hatti Hurrian influence was not limited to the personal names in the royal family. Texts, such as the Hurrian model for the great Hurro-Hittite bilingual "the Song of Remission," were imported from Syria[21] and provided with Hittite translations during the Middle Hittite period.[22] The first Hittite versions of many Hurrian religious texts which exist in later, New Kingdom copies, can also be assigned on the basis of linguistic clues to the Middle Hittite period. Hittitologists are today revising the overly confident assertions of earlier times that Hurrian influence on the Hittite monarchy and the culture of the capital city began in earnest only with the arrival in c. 1250 of Queen Puduḫepa, the principal wife of king Hattušili III who had been a Kizzuwatnean princess. Perhaps the *pace* of Hurrianization increased under Puduḫepa, but the *process* began much earlier.

Thus it happened that by the time of Šuppiluliuma I (c. 1350), the Hurrian state of Mitanni was a political, but not a cultural, opponent. A certain Hittite respect for the gods of the Hurrian states of Syria is exemplified by Suppiluliuma's reported deference to the temples of the goddess Kubaba and the Patron God of Kargamish. Of this his son Mursili II writes:

> My father finally conquered the city of Carchemish. He had besieged it for seven days, and ... he took it in a terrific battle on the eighth day .... And when he had conquered the city - since my father feared the gods - on the upper citadel he let no one into the presence of the goddess Kubaba or of the Patron Deity (of the city). ... Instead he showed them reverence.[23]

Since Šuppiluliuma I effectively ended the independent state of Mitanni, leaving only a rump state which he could control, in Mursili II's records of his father's Syrian

[20] As in the New Hittite period kings like Mursili III had alternate names like Urḫi-Teššub, so we find the earliest kings of this "Middle Hittite" period had alternate Hurrian names.

[21] On the geographical provenance of the bilingual see now Neu 1996a 1f. and 483.

[22] At the time this paper was delivered the official edition of the text had not yet appeared, and I cited the following sources: Neu 1985; 1988a; 1988b; Otten 1984; 1988b. The hand copies of the cuneiform texts were to be found in KBo 32 (Otten and Rüster 1990). Now the official edition has appeared: Neu 1996.

[23] Adapted from the translation of Güterbock 1956 95.

wars he uses the expression "men of Hurri" as his preferred label rather than the more specific political term "Mitanni" or "Hanigalbat."

Even after the arrival in Hattusa of a Hurrian-influenced royal family and the introduction of Hurrian deities, etc., one senses no feeling of ethnic kinship between the Hittites and those kingdoms to the east where Hurrian was the dominant language.

Dating in their written form to a later period, yet reflecting the atmosphere of Hittite-Hurrian wars is a military ritual[24] in which the Hittite king takes a detached chariot wheel in his hand and says the following:

> "[Let] the gods [send] the wheel forth, [let them] ro[ll] it into the land of the Hurrians. O gods, go after it!"

Then the king rolls the wheel. The procedure reminds me of the Israelite hero Gideon's dream of the barley loaf (Hebrew *kikkar leḥem*) which rolled down the hill into the camp of the invading Midianites and knocked over their (cult) tent.[25]

Material Culture

What then are the manifestations of that Hurrian influence within the kingdom of Hatti, which began with the advent of the new ruling family in the Middle Hittite period?

The Hurrian Mediated Hippological Texts

Although, as we saw, the adoption of a Hurrian type of battering ram dates back to the Old Kingdom, other aspects of Hurrian military genius were only adopted in the Middle Kingdom. Already during the Old Kingdom Hittite armies used chariots. But not until the 15th and 14th centuries did they adopt Hurrian methods of training the horses for these chariots. Evidence for this is found in the Hittite translation of the horse-training manual of Kikkuli.[26] That this is a translation of a foreign work

[24] KUB 9.1 ii 26-33.

[25] *Judges* 7:13.

[26] Edition in Kammenhuber 1961. A new and important work on the subject is Starke 1995.

and not a native Hittite composition is attested by the awkward Hittite which betrays its foreign origin. On linguistic grounds it can be shown that the Hittite version of this text originated neither earlier nor later than the Middle Hittite period.[27] This text contains numerals and technical terms in an "Indo-Aryan" language. And even in one of the horse training treatises not attributed to Kikkuli we find the use of the Hurrian language in a brief worship of the deities Pirinkir and IŠTAR.[28] But since the non-Hittite technical terms are Indo-Aryan rather than Hurrian, it appears that the Hurrians were not the inventors but the mediators of this technique of chariot-horse training.

Hurrian Clothing

Influence of Hurrian attire[29] on upper class Hittites can be seen in the fairly frequent reference in texts to a luxury garment called the "Hurrian tunic" (TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪUR-RI*[30]) This garment could be decorated with gold.[31] In a text from the reign of Tudhaliya IV, the queen promises to have such a gold-decorated Hurrian tunic together with gold earrings made and to donate them to a certain god, if he will only lead the king in victory over his enemies.[32]

Even when it is not said to be "decorated with gold," the "Hurrian tunic" was clearly a garment of the elite. For in the course of an oracular inquiry regarding the cult of the god of Arušna the oracle has required the king to donate to the temple garments called ^{TÚG}*terma-*, which in context can only mean "finery." When the oracle priest pursues the question of what might constitute ^{TÚG}*terma-*, the oracle responds

[27] Neu 1986.

[28] KUB 29.44++ i 5-8 (CTH 285).

[29] An older, but still useful survey of the terminology of Hittite dress is Goetze 1955.

[30] Sometimes written in an abbreviated way as TÚG.GÚ *ḪUR-RI*, see Siegelová 1986 650 for references in Hittite inventories of clothing and luxury items.

[31] *^{f}Šauškattiš=a* [TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪUR-RI* KÙ.GI GAR.RA] / *daš n=at ANA ^{m}Ḫappuwaššu* LÚ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *paiš* "The woman Šauškatti took a 'Hurrian shirt' decorated with gold and gave it to Mr. Happuwaššu, the Man of the (Royal) Table" CTH 29.5 (KUB 34.45 + KBo 16.63) obv. 7-8; also *UMMA ^{m}Ḫappuwaššu* TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪUR-RI* KÙ.GI GAR.RA=*mu paiš* ^{URUDU}*zakkiaš=ma=mu uttar UL me*[*mišta*] ibid. 10.

[32] KUB 15.23:8-11, edited by de Roos 1984 250-51.

with a list which includes luxury garments called "Hurrian tunics" both white and red in color.[33]

As the name indicates, this kind of garment was sometimes imported or brought to Hatti with plunder from wars in Hurrian lands. A Middle Hittite inventory text from the northerly provincial city of Tapikka (= Maşat) lists "13 silver rhyta, 8 thin garments, and Hurrian tunics. Total: 2 garments from a military campaign, 47 garments of the Hurrian land, and 9 bows."[34] That this type of garment did not need to be imported from abroad, however, is shown by a reference in a Middle Hittite land grant text (KBo 5.7 CTH 223) rev. 3 to the household of a man named ᵘMuliyaziti, who is described as "a maker of Hurrian tunics" (LÚ*EPIŠ* TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪUR-RI*). The name Muliyaziti is linguistically Luwian, not Hurrian.[35] In the damaged context of a text recording a royal vow we read of an object, probably a statue, with eyes of lapis lazuli and other parts of gold and lapis, the whole object then described by a Luwian passive participle translatable as "made in the Hurrian way" (ḫu-ur-la-i-ma-an-za).[36]

Stratification in Society

We have already mentioned the appearance of Hurrian names among the royal family as early as the first kings of the so-called Middle Kingdom. Such names continue in the royal family down to the end of the New Kingdom. Of course, not all members of the royal family had Hurrian names. Muwatalli II's son and successor had the Hurrian birth name Urḫi-Teššub. But his uncle, one of Muršili II's sons, had the Hittite birth name Halpa-šulupi,[37] and his aunt, Muršili's daughter, bore the Luwian name ᶠMaššana-uzzi,[38] also written logographically as ᶠDINGIR.MEŠ-IR. The royal family in the Middle and New Kingdom periods showed therefore the same mix of Luwian and Hurrian names as the other segments of upper class society. Since

[33] TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪURRI* BABBAR ... TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪURRI marušamma* KUB 22.70 rev. 10-12.

[34] HKM (Alp 1991) 108 obv. 1-4.

[35] Laroche 1966 324-325.

[36] KUB 56.13 obv. 5-7.

[37] Laroche 1966 56 #256.

[38] Laroche 1966 115 #775.

the names of members of the lowest levels of society rarely occur in texts, we are poorly informed about their linguistic affiliation.

Hurrian Influence in Literature

Until very recently it has been assumed that mythological texts whose origins can be traced to the Old Kingdom were virtually all of local Anatolian and therefore Hattian origin and that those whose composition was either Middle or New Hittite were translated or adapted from Hurrian originals. This view is now being challenged.[39] The principal dramatis personae of the Old Hittite myths are not all specifically Hattian deities, and the texts themselves do not show the rigid and awkward syntax we see in the Hittite portions of Hattic-Hittite bilinguals. It is therefore more likely that Hittite authors drew only in general on native Anatolian traditions to compose the myths of the Vanishing Deity and Dragon-slayer types. And Old Hittite legendary stories such as the Queen of Kanesh have no obvious ties to Hattian deities but rather clear ones to cities such as Kanesh which were the earliest Hittite urban centers.

As Transmitters of Mesopotamian Literature

There are clear linguistic traces within the Hittite versions of the Sargon and Narām-Sin epics, the Gilgamesh epic, the celestial omen series *šumma Anu Enlil* and other works of originally Mesopotamian literature that they were transmitted to Hatti by Hurrians. But until such time as unilingual Hurrian versions of these texts are reconstructed and reliably interpreted it is impossible to say to what extent they were further elaborated by the Hittite translators. And therefore we cannot with any confidence assign features of these texts which differ from their Sumerian or Akkadian forerunners to Hurrian influence.

Hurrian(?) literature in translation: the New Bilinguals

Beginning in the 1983 season Peter Neve's team at Boğazköy began to recover tablets which contained a Hurro-Hittite bilingual composition of great importance.

[39] See Singer 1995.

The contents of this text could be determined almost immediately from the well-preserved Hittite version. A preliminary report was made in 1984 by the excavation's epigrapher Heinrich Otten.[40] Otten commissioned Erich Neu to produce a full edition of both versions in the series *Studien zu den Boghazköy Texten* and together with Christel Rüster set about preparing hand copies of the cuneiform tablets for publication in the series *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy*. Otten and Ruster's volume of hand copies appeared in 1990,[41] giving other Hittitologists a basis for independently analyzing the text and contributing to its interpretation.[42] Since 1984 Neu published a number of articles devoted to the philological and linguistic analysis of the Hurrian version,[43] and recently his official edition of the text has appeared.

Part of the text has the character of a wisdom composition.[44] A number of short parables describe the unwise or ungrateful behavior of animals or personified objects followed by an interpretation or application in which the true object of the parable is revealed. The following parable, which is particularly appropriate in view of the Hurrians' reputation as metalworkers, is a sample:[45]

> A coppersmith cast a cup for (his own) glory. He cast it (and) finished it. He provided it with attachments and engraved it. He made them gleam on it with brilliance.[46] Then the foolish copper (cup) began to curse in return him who had cast it: "If only the hand[47] of him who cast me would be broken. If only his right arm muscle would be paralyzed(?)." When the coppersmith heard that, he was pained at heart, and the coppersmith began to say to himself: "Why does this copper which I have cast curse me in return?" So the coppersmith pronounced a curse on the cup: "May Teššub strike (this) cup and tear off its attachments. May the cup fall into an irrigation ditch, may the attachments fall into the river." This is not a cup, but a human being. It is that son who is hostile toward his father. He grew up and reached

[40] Otten 1984.

[41] Otten and Rüster 1990.

[42] In fact, others have clarified both the Hittite (Hoffner 1994) and Hurrian versions (Wilhelm 1992a; 1992b; 1992c; 1992d).

[43] The following are a sampling of these articles: Neu 1985; 1988a; 1988b; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992b; 1993.

[44] See Neu 1996a 10, 15, 54, 126f., 318 for the connections to wisdom literature.

[45] This passage is very thoroughly and capably edited and discussed by Neu 1996a 80-83, 143-166.

[46] Suggestion of E. Rieken apud Neu 1996a 148 n. 106.

[47] Or "arm."

adulthood,[48] and no longer looks at his father. (He it is) whom his father's gods have made accursed.

Other parts of the composition deal with a social institution known from Mesopotamia and ancient Israel, namely the periodic remission of debts and liberation from debt-slavery. It is this part of the text which gives to the entire composition its name.[49] The colophons all read: "Tablet number so-and-so of the Song of Remission." The word "Song" relates this composition to the mythological texts of the so-called Kumarbi Cycle, long known at the Hittite capital. As Güterbock concluded in his 1952 edition of the best known of these, the Song of Ullikummi, the Hittite texts show no evidence of meter or rhyme. Hence the title "song" either describes the compositions only as solemn or elevated recitations, without implying poetic form, or it applies only to the putative Hurrian original, which might have been poetic. In the case of Ullikummi, Güterbock obviously could not investigate the Hurrian original. But in the case of the Song of Remission we have both the Hurrian and Hittite versions. To my knowledge no one has yet attempted to apply a metrical yardstick to the Hurrian version of the Song of Remission, although Neu has described what he calls the marks of a "hurritische Dichtersprache" in the bilingual.[50]

The Hurrian word for "remission" is *kirenzi*, and its Hittite translation *parā tarnumar*. The Hittite compound *parā tarna-* in its various inflected forms is well known from earlier published texts.[51] Outside of the Song of Remission it has not yet been found to describe the remission of debts, although it is possible that in the

[48] I prefer this translation of *mēani ari* to the translation "und er gelangte zu Ansehen" defended by Neu 1996a 162, where Starke is depended on for material already discussed better in CHD sub *meya(n)ni-*, and the occurrence in KBo 25.5:4 is discussed without taking into account either CHD *meya(n)ni-* a 1' or Hoffner, JCS 33:206-209 cited there, which showed that this is a duplicate to laws §§164-165 and *meyani* a variant of *mehuni*. I understand the variant *elašna ari* as "reaches the stage (of adulthood)." There is no need to add the extraneous notion of fame or high regard ("Ansehen").

[49] Neu 1996a 7-12 with earlier literature.

[50] Neu 1988b 246-248. I have now seen only volume one of the edition. On p. 136 is a remark about the possibility of meter in the Hurrian version, but the first volume contains no systematic investigation of this question. In Neu 1996a 7 n. 14 he holds out the prospect of such an investigation with the words: "Eine Ausführliche Darstellung der poetischen Form und Gestaltung ist einer eigenen Studie vorbehalten."

[51] See CHD P 115, 125 for representative examples.

Hittite laws it describes the release of slaves. The Akkadian and Sumerian terms which describe a similar edict are amar-gi, *andurārum*, and *mīšarum*. An ancient Hebrew term, obviously derived from Akkadian *andurāru(m)*, is *d^{e}rôr*. The biblical institution called *d^{e}rôr* is associated with what is called the Jubilee Year. After seven heptads of years totalling 49 years, in the 50th year debts were to be remitted, slaves freed, and ancestral land holdings restored to their original owners. The classic passage in the *Book of Leviticus* reads:

> "And you shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty (*d^{e}rôr*) throughout the land to all its inhabitants; it shall be a jubilee (*yôvēl*) for you, when each of you shall return to his property and each of you shall return to his family" (Lev. 25:10).

Although this passage is the source of the inscription on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, the "liberty" of which the Hebrew text speaks is not the political independence of a colony. The ancient Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible renders *d^{e}rôr* here as αφεσιν "remission." In another familiar passage, the prophet Isaiah uses *d^{e}rôr* to describe the release of the Israelite exiles from Babylonian captivity:

> "The Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me, because the LORD has anointed me to bring good tidings to the afflicted; he has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty (*d^{e}rôr*) to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound" (Isa. 61:1).

According to the prophet Jeremiah it was because Israel did not obey her God in observing these periodic debt-releases that Yahweh brought upon her the exile:[52]

> "Therefore, thus says the LORD: You have not obeyed me by proclaiming liberty (*d^{e}rôr*), every one to his brother and to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim to you liberty (*d^{e}rôr*) to the sword,

[52] See the similar statement of the Chronicler about Israel's failure to observe the sabbatical years: "but they kept mocking the messengers of God, despising his words, and scoffing at his prophets, till the wrath of the LORD rose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought up against them the king of the Chaldeans...; he gave them all into his hand. ... all these he brought to Babylon. And they burned the house of God, and broke down the wall of Jerusalem, and burned all its palaces with fire, and destroyed all its precious vessels. He took into exile in Babylon those who had escaped from the sword, and they became servants to him and to his sons ..., to fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah (see 25:11, 29:10), until the land had enjoyed its sabbaths. All the days that it lay desolate it kept sabbath, to fulfil seventy years" (@ Chr. 36:16-21).

> to pestilence, and to famine, says the LORD. I will make you a horror to all the kingdoms of the earth." (Jer. 34:17).

The beginning of the section dealing with the theme of debt remission is lost in a textual break. When the context becomes clear, we are introduced to a ruler of Ebla named Meki and to wealthy citizens of Ebla, who tell their ruler that they do not want to set their slaves free.

> "Assuming that we release them, who will give us to eat? They are our cup-bearers ... they are our cooks ... they spin wool for us! If you want a debt-release, you must release your own male and female slaves!"

Meki is saddened at this response and tearfully reports it in prayer to Teššub. Meki's own compliance with Teššub's demand for a debt-release is described as "purifying from sin."

After another textual break we learn that an eloquent man named Zazalla, who opposes Meki's request that Ebla observe a debt-release, speaks in the assembly. After another break we find ourselves in an assembly where the council members of Ebla pledge themselves to come to Teššub's aid, if he should fall into need, but refuse to authorize the general debt release demanded by that god:

> [If Teššub,] oppressed by debt(?), [as]ks(?) [for help], if Teššub is (ever) [in de]bt(?), then everyone [will give] to Teššub. Everyone will give [him] a half shekel [of gold], and we will [each give] silver to him. But if Teššub is (ever) hungry, then each of us will give to him one *PARISU* of barley. ... But if Teššub is (ever) naked, each of us will clothe him ... with a garment. But if Teššub is ill(?), each of us will give him fine oil .... We will pour out a heap of grain for him and we will redeem(?) him ... from dire need(?). We will save him, (namely) Teššub, from the creditor(?). But we will make no debt release.

In still another section of the text, which could be placed either at the beginning or after the assembly, a god—probably Teššub himself—demands that the citizens of Ebla observe the debt release, and promises them prosperity if they do and catastrophe if they don't:

> If [you (plural) make] a debt release in Ebla, [the city of the throne,] and if you (pl.) [make] a debt [release], I will exalt your weapon[s ...]. Your weapons will begin [to conquer] (your) enemies. [Your] plowed land [will prosper] in glory. But if [you] do not make a debt release

> for Ebla, the city of the throne, in the space of seven days I will come upon you .... I will destroy [the city of] Ebla, the city of the throne. I [will make] it like <a city> that never existed. I will break the surrounding wall of Ebla's [lower] city like a cup. I will flatten the surrounding wall of the upper (city and make the area) like a garbage dump.[53]

What is so remarkable about the picture given in this text is not just that the institution of debt release was known by the Hurrians and projected back as early as the period of Ebla's heyday, but that it was due to the instigation of the Hurrian god Teššub. That the city would be utterly destroyed, if it failed to observe the release, reminds us of the words of Jeremiah spoken to Judah which we quoted earlier. It also appears that the Song of Remission attributed the eventual fall of the ancient and famous city of Ebla to its failure to observe the debt release.

Ritual Procedures Authored by Hurrian Women

Hittite literature produced by Hurrians should not be limited to the great mythological compositions. Colophons indicate a number of magic rituals whose authors are either identified as Hurrians or bear Hurrian names. An entry in a library shelf list describes a medical ritual as follows:

> "One tablet concerning the fine oil of (the woman) Azzari, the Hurrian female physician, (composition entitled) 'If ever a man leads armies on campaign, how one pronounces incantations on the fine oil and anoints the commander who leads the army, his horses, chariots, and all his weapons.'"[54]

In the colophon of another ritual the author is given as "Āšdu, the Hurrian 'Old Woman'" (MUNUS ŠU.GI ^{URU}*ḫurlaš*).[55]

[53] KBo 32.19 i 11-28 (translation of the Hittite only).

[54] KUB 30.42 i 8-14.

[55] 1419/u iv 2', IBoT 2.1116:4'.

Hurrian Influence in the Cult

Earliest Penetration of the Pantheon and Cult

In its final and mature form the pantheon of the Hittite New Kingdom was thoroughly Hurrianized. This can be seen most vividly in the reliefs on the walls of the open-air sanctuary at Yazilikaya, which show two processions of deities converging toward a central point in the far wall of the chamber. Male deities converge from the left, and females from the right, reflecting the strict division in Hurrian-influenced religious texts between the male and female deities. Each figure in the procession is accompanied by a name written in Luwian hieroglyphs, and—remarkably—virtually all of these names are Hurrian.

The Hurrian pantheon at Hatti had at its apex a storm-god named Teššub, his wife Hebat, and their son Šarruma. This triad also stands at the center of the Yazilikaya reliefs. Other deities named in Hurrian on the Yazilikaya reliefs are the grain-god Kumarbi, the moon-god Kušuḫ, the sun-god Šimike, and Teššub's sister, the goddess of love and war, *IŠTAR*-Šawuška. A very important god in the Hurrian pantheon was Kumarbi, about whom we will have more to say later. Although his original function and character is difficult to determine, in Syria he was early identified with the grain god Dagān, and in the Yazilikaya reliefs, where he probably supplanted the earlier Hittite god Telipinu, he is portrayed holding a stalk of grain in his hand.

In addition to deities identifiable by name as Hurrian, the Hittite scribes identified certain other deities as Hurrian "versions" of native Anatolian deities. In an Ištanuwan ritual a group of six deities is honored, one of which is called *ḫurlaš* ^{d}*Inar* "the Hurrian Inara,"[56] which seems to stand in implied opposition to ^{URU}*Hattusaš* ^{d}*Inareš* "the Hittite Inara-deities" attested in the Old Hittite KIN-oracle KBo 18.151 obv. 11.[57]

[56] KUB 35.135 rev. 16, ed. DLL 165f.

[57] Although ^{d}*Inareš* is grammatically plural, as a single token it is construed with a succession of singular verbs.

Festivals for Hurrian Deities

With the worship of Hurrian deities came the use of the Hurrian language in that worship. In some texts the actual Hurrian wording of liturgical or magical utterances is given.[58] In others the directions are content to say "the Hurrian singers sing" ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NAR *ḫurlaš* SÌR-*RU*),[59] without quoting the exact wording.

In liturgical texts the Hurrian words are uttered by singers, whereas in the magic rituals it is exorcists (^{LÚ}AZU or ^{LÚ}ḪAL) or the practitioners called the "Old Women" who pronounce them.

Hurrian Deities Listed in the Treaties (*NIŠ ILĀNI*)

Hurrian deities appear not only in contexts of worship and sacrifice, but in the important role of guarantors of the oaths which enforce the terms of the great international treaties. In this role they are called the "oath-deities" (Akkadian *niš ilāni*). Hittite treaties usually include long lists of such oath-deities, many of whom are the gods and goddesses of the treaty partner's land.

The process of syncretism in Hatti was so thorough that originally Hurrian deities acquired distinctive Hittite names. Just as in Graeco-Roman culture we can speak almost indifferently of Zeus or Jupiter, Hera or Juno, Poseidon or Neptune, Hermes or Mercury, so it seems Hittite scribes could describe Hurrian Šawuška either with her own Hurrian name or with a Hittite equivalent. Unfortunately, all but the final syllable of this Hittite name is hidden behind the *IŠTAR* logogram, but enough remains to exclude the reading Šawuška.

And since the ubiquitous Sumerograms ^{d}IŠKUR and ^{d}10 are almost always used to write Teššub's name, Hurrian storm-gods are most often identified in the texts by their city affiliations. For example the storm-gods of Aleppo, Kargamiš, etc. would in this period certainly be forms of Teššub.

[58] For example: KUB 7.56 ii 7-12; KBo 17.95 iii 12-18; KBo 23.23 rev. 66-70.

[59] For example: KUB 27.1 iv 20, 24, 44; KUB 10.89 i 34 (EZEN ITU).

poured out in such cases, which might be expected in any case following ritual killing, but it is intentionally applied to various objects.[61]

A second hallmark is the stereotypical division of deities into "male deities" and "female deities." This is not only frequent of mention, but the Hittite terms can be directly related to the Hurrian ones which they translate, which also occur in Hurrian-language portions of said cult texts.

Dual-gendered deities seem unknown in the Hittite cult until the arrival of the Hurrian *IŠTAR*-Ša(w)uška, who dressed as a female nevertheless appears in both the god and goddess processions on the reliefs at Yazilikaya.

There is clearly one magico-religious feature which arrives with the Hurrians: the creation of and ritual utilization of ritual pits in the ground. Such pits are called by the name *ābi*. The pits are conceived as giving access to the deities of the nether-world. Offerings are lowered into them, blood of sacrificial victims is shed into them, models in precious metals are put down into them, including symbolic items such as an ear which invites the infernal powers to listen to the petitioner's prayer, and a ladder or stair which mutely invites the powers of the lower world to ascend into the upper.[62] The ladder or stairway which offers a symbolic means of passage from one level of the cosmos to the next one above or below it is also found in the famous dream of the biblical patriarch Jacob, who saw a ladder or stairway at Bethel leading up to heaven, on which semi-divine beings (angels) were ascending and descending.[63]

In most Hittite rituals and festivals the animals chosen for sacrifice are the familiar domestic livestock: cattle, sheep and goats. But in those with a Hurrian background one finds in addition the offering (verb *šipand-*) of birds: not only simple MUŠEN, but also the MUŠEN.GAL, the MUŠEN *ḪURRI*.[64] In some cases it isn't

[61] CTH 757A (HT 1) i 37-43 *nu ešḫar dai nu* GI A.DA.GUR *kuiš ANA* DUG KA.DÙ *tarnanza / n=an ešḫanta i`šḳiyazzi;* CTH 476 (KBo 5.1) i 25-26 *namma IŠTU* 2 MUŠEN *ḫarnawi* ^{GIŠ}KAK.ḪI.A=*ya kuiuš=a / arḫayan išḫarnumaizzi.*

[62] The fundamental studies of these *ābi* are still Vieyra 1961 and Hoffner 1967, both of whom claimed some connection of the Hurrian term *ābi* with Assyrian and Hebrew terms for similar ritual pits. With the excavation of the Südburg monument by Peter Neve, Hawkins and others have suggested that the pit at the rear of the niche is such an access to the Netherworld, and that a hieroglyph in the accompanying inscription consisting of the conjoined signs for "road" and "earth" (VIA+TERRA) denotes it.

[63] Genesis 28:12-22.

[64] *-kan* MUŠEN *šipand-* for example in CTH 701 (KBo 23.12+ iv 7); CTH 476 (KBo 5.1) iv 27-33 *n=asta* EN SISKUR *INA* É *sinapsi anda / panzi nu IŠTU* MUŠEN *urnazhiya / sipanti* 1 MUŠEN=*ma*

specifically said that birds are "offered" or "sacrificed," but rather "waved" (*waḫnu-*). Among the birds "waved" are the falcon (SÚR.DÙ.A^{MUŠEN}), the raven (*IRIBU*^{MUŠEN}), the eagle (TI$_8$^{MUŠEN}), the *šurašura-*, the *kipriti-*, and the *ḫapupi*-bird.[65] The action of "waving" may itself be a gesture of sacrifice. In the Hebrew Bible the verb *hēnîf* "to wave" is used of a gesture of offering and the noun *tenûfā* denotes the "wave offering." Waving an offering in the direction of the receiving deity was a way of presenting the victim.

One also notices that there is more of a tendency in the Hurrian-influenced cult to prefer young to mature animals as sacrificial victims, i.e., calves, lambs and kids instead of full-grown cattle, sheep and goats. To be sure, this is only a relative statement, since one does find occasionally a young animal in a Hittite sacrifice.

The ritual vessels and other items of cult equipment employed in Hurrian rites also bear distinctively Hurrian names. Which suggests that they were not the exact equivalents of Hittite vessels. The Hurrian named censer (*aḫrušḫi*), the tureen (*ḫubrušḫi*) and other similar items are hardly mentioned in other Hittite rituals.

Other gestures or actions are characteristic of Hurrian-influenced rituals: such as the dripping (*zapnu-*) of oil into vessels of water (CTH 701 KBo 33.18 i 4-5), or the fumigation of holy places using cedar oil (^{GIŠ}ERIN), or sulfur (*kipriti*).

Hurrian Influence in Divination

We have already mentioned the Hittite acquisition and translation of the great Mesopotamian omen treatises. Examples have been found of the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the terrestrial omen series *šumma ālu*, the *šumma izbu* series dealing with animal and human birth anomalies, and the physiognomic omens. The Hittite archives also contain hemerologies and menologies derivative from Babylonia. Many of these are preserved in both Akkadian and Hittite versions. Others have only been found in Hittite, but can be matched with Akkadian versions from Babylonia or Syria.

keldiya sipanti / nu=za EN.MEŠ SISKUR *arha INA* É=*ŠUNU / pānzi*. A distinction is made between the *offering* of birds and the use of them as apotropaic "carriers," waved over the afflicted and released to carry off the evils, as in CTH 442A (KUB9.28) iv 12-15.

[65] This bird also occurs in the Elkunirša/Ašertu myth. See Hoffner 1965.

While, as might be expected, the non-Hittite elements in the terminology of these texts is predominantly Sumerian or Akkadian, there are a striking number of Hurrian terms. Such Hurrian terminology is most pronounced in liver divination and in the *šumma immeru* series treating the observation of the behavior of animals about to be sacrificed.

Hurrian Language

How Widely Used?

In rituals and festivals with Hurrian background or in parts of festivals directed specifically to Hurrian deities one frequently finds Hurrian words or phrases uttered without translation. And while it is understandable that in the short liturgical phrases of the festivals the actual Hurrian words should be sung by the singers, it is less clear why in the description of the activities (not part of any libretto, as it were) it should be said that the celebrant/practitioner "makes offering for *ambaššiya*" or "one lamb is burned for *ambaššiya*" without translating the foreign word *ambaššiya* itself into Hittite. Was it really so transparent to the readers of the text what this Hurrian word meant? Why could it not be translated into Hittite?

In Myths

In the myths of Hurrian origin there are no untranslated Hurrian utterances, but certain terms for peculiar buildings or institutions are borrowed into Hittite and domesticated with Hittite inflectional endings. In the Kumarbi cycle the temples of the gods in heaven are called *kuntari*, a Hurrian term meaning "shrine"[66] which occurs in unilingual Hurrian inscriptions,[67] as well as in the Hittite bronze tablet of Tudḫaliya IV.[68]

[66] Friedrich 1957 35 citing Laroche 1953 192.

[67] Laroche 1978-79 154.

[68] Otten 1988a.

The names of the characters are Hurrian (Taššmišu, Hebat, Hedammu, Ninatta, Kulitta, Mukišanu, Gurparanzaḫ), including some which have meaning appropriate to their function in the narrative: Ullikumme "destroyer of Kumme (Teššub's city)."

In Prayers

In contrast to the use of short phrases sung in worship during the festivals, there seems to have been no use of the Hurrian language in the formal prayers of the king and his family. This is itself somewhat remarkable, since if there is one speech activity in which one might expect the use of the speaker's "first" or native language, it would be in prayer, and especially when the gods addressed in the New Kingdom are Hurrian gods such as Teššub and Hebat.

Kumarbi, the God from Urkesh, in the Hittite Traditions

Although the Hurrian name of this god literally means "he of Kumar," the latter being a city-state,[69] it is clearly stated in the Hittite myths about this god that his city is Urkeš.

This fact was first noticed in the myth "Song of Ullikummi," where in the opening parts of Tablet One Kumarbi sets out from "his city Urkeš."[70]

But it is most clearly expressed in the myth named "The Song of Silver," which is preserved in fragments of several episodes.[71] The main character of this "song," a demigod named "Silver," is depicted at the beginning of the story as a child of a "single mother" and takes out his frustration at being fatherless by bullying other children. Finally his mother decides he needs to know who his father was, and in a scene in which the frustrated and violent young Silver has even threatened his mother with violence she speaks to him the following:[72]

[69] See Wilhelm 1994.

[70] Noted, for example, in Güterbock 1948 and then in the standard edition of the text: Güterbock 1952. Newest translations in Hoffner 1990 52ff. (English); Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990 142ff. (Italian).

[71] Edition Hoffner 1988.

[72] The standard edition of this text is Hoffner 1988; it was also translated following the edition for a broader audience in: Hoffner 1990.

(4) [His mother(?)] took away from [him] the stick. [... (5) His mother] turned around (6) [and] began to reply [to Silver, her son]: (7) "Do [not hit me,] O Silver! Do not strike me! (8) The [ci]ty [you inquire about] I will tell/describe it to you. (9) [Your father(?) is Kumarbi,] the father of the city Urkeš. (10) [He .....s], and he resides in Urkeš.[73] (11) [....] the lawsuits of all the [lan]ds (12) he [satisfactorily resolv]es(?). Your brother (is) Teššub. (13) He is king in heaven. And he is king in the land. (14) Your sister is Šawuška (*IŠTAR*), and she is queen in Nineveh. (15) You must [not] fear [an]y [of them]; (16) only one deity [must you fear]. (17) [He (i.e., Kumarbi) stirs up(?)] (16) the enemy land(s), and the wild anim[als]. (17) From top to bottom (18) [he *ḫuinu-s*]. From bottom to t[op he *ḫuinu-s*."] (19) [Silver] listened to his mother's words. (20) He set out (19) for Urkeš. (20) He arrived in Urkeš, (21) but he did not (22) find (21) [Kumarbi] in his house.[74] (22) He (Kumarbi) had gone to roam the land(s). (A ii 12) He wanders about u[p](?) in the mountains. (Text of col. II breaks off.)

The Character of Kumarbi in Hittite Sources

What can the stories in the Kumarbi Cycle of songs tell us about this god whose home city was Urkeš? So far as filiation is concerned, in the Song of Kumarbi (also popularly known as the "Kingship in Heaven" myth) Kumarbi is expressly said to be "the offspring of the god Alalu."[75] But since through the unusual circumstance that in the act of depriving his foe Anu of posterity he has swallowed that god's genitals and semen, Kumarbi has become—as it were—the womb which will bear Anu's children, destined to avenge their father, Kumarbi also becomes in a sense the "father" of these other gods. Teššub in some sense enjoys dual paternity. As Anu's son he avenges his father and takes divine kingship away from Kumarbi. But in the Song of Silver the young Silver is told that his father is Kumarbi and that his brother is Teššub and his sister Šawuška. This can only be so, if Teššub and Šawuška are his half-brother and half-sister and Kumarbi their father in the special sense just mentioned. In the Song of Kumarbi, the other deities which spring from Anu's genitals in Kumarbi's stomach include the Tigris River, appropriate given the location of Urkeš.

[73] KUB 36.18 ii 8-10 [*punuškiši=ma kuin* U]RU-*an uk=an=ta temi* / [*ABU=KA* ^{d}*Kumarbiš* U]RU-*aš* ^{URU}*Urkišaš attaš=šiš* / [... *n*]=*aš* ^{URU}*Urkiša eszi.*

[74] KUB 36.18 ii 19-22 [*mān* KÙ.BABBAR-*anza=ma* (AMA-*naš u*)*ttar IŠME n=a*[(š ^{URU}*U*)*rkiša*] / [*anda* (*iyanniš* ^{URU}*U*)]*rkiša=aš araš* [(*n=ašta*)] / [^{d}*Kumarbin*] *INA* É=*ŠU anda* [(*UL* / *wemeyat*)].

[75] KUB 33.120+ (CTH 344) i 19 ^{d}*Alaluwaš* NUMUN=*ŠU* "Alalu's seed."

Kumarbi is formidable in battle. Without the special aid of Ea/Enki, Teššub would have been unable to resist him. In the first Song of the cycle (the Song of Kumarbi) Kumarbi drives the god Anu from the throne, because Anu "cannot withstand Kumarbi's eyes." This reminds one of the statement in the Apology of Ḫattušili III where the new king says that after his accession "toward whatever enemy I turned my eyes, no enemy was able to deflect my intimidating gaze."[76]

In the myths Kumarbi is also depicted as a savage god who finishes off his opponents decisively without a second thought. When he drives his predecessor Anu from the throne, he ruthlessly emasculates him to prevent any of his offspring from eventually avenging him. After he has swallowed the genitals of Anu, he laughs in triumph at his defeated foe.

But above all in the Kumarbi Cycle this god is portrayed as a clever, scheming and resourceful god. He is called "wise king" (*ḫattanza* LUGAL-*uš*), "lord/king of wisdom" in much the same way as the Sumerian god Enki was called *bēl nēmeqi* "lord of wisdom." Kumarbi has also been called "the Hurrian Enlil."

In the opening lines of the Song of Ullikummi Kumarbi is described as follows:

> "I sing of Kumarbi, father of all the gods, who conceives a clever plan. He raises up an evil man (to be) an evil 'day'. He plans disaster for Teššub. He raises up against Teššub a supplanter. Kumarbi conceives a clever plan and lines it up like a string of beads."

With these words the author of this mythological cycle gives a preview of the action in the coming songs. The central figure in the story, the great antagonist to the hero Teššub, is Kumarbi, a master of schemes. His master plan will consist of a number of attempts to overcome Teššub, and these follow a sequence carefully mapped out in advance. The various songs each of which narrates one of Kumarbi's plots are like beads on the string which is the cycle itself.

In each of the "songs" which make up the great mythological cycle Kumarbi is described as creating still another plot whereby he can thwart the dire prediction by Anu of his eventual demise at the hands of Teššub. In each successive "song" a new offspring, usually taking the form of a monster—the dragon Hedammu, the basalt giant Ullikummi, the violent Silver—seeks to depose Teššub and to regain the divine kingship for Kumarbi's line.

[76] Edition: Otten 1981 col. I 67-69.

According to the Song of Kumarbi, Kumarbi began his "career" as the cup-bearer of the King of the Gods, Anu. But since he was also the offspring of Alalu, whom Anu had deposed by force, Kumarbi avenged his father by driving Anu also from the throne. I have tried to argue elsewhere that what we see in the sequence of divine kings in this cycle is a competition between two rival lines: the first beginning with Alalu and continued by Kumarbi and his various monster "children," and the second beginning with Anu and continued by Teššub and his siblings. The former line are part of the larger category of deities known both in Hurrian and Hittite as "primeval deities," "grandfatherly deities"[77] and "infernal deities."[78]

These "primeval deities" also occur in the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual:

> "The meal time arrived, and Teššub, the king, sat down to eat. But (Allani) seated the Primeval Deities on Teššub's right."[79]

Indeed the motif of "primordial deities" who once ruled the universe but who after being deposed by a younger generation of celestial deities were banished to the netherworld is a prominent characteristic of the Hurrian layer of Hittite civilization.

Summary and Conclusion

From the foregoing survey it should be apparent just how deep and thoroughgoing was the Hurrian penetration of Hittite culture. One must indeed speak of a kind of symbiosis very much like the much later ones of Greek language and culture in the Hellenistic and Roman eras.

The excavation by the Buccellatis of what appears to be correctly identified as the city of Urkeš may prove in the long run of equal significance to the excavations of Nuzi, Hattusa, Ugarit, Mari and Ebla. At least, it is my hope that in this early

[77] Hurrian *ammatena enna*, see GLH 47.

[78] On the Hurro-Hittite primeval deities see Archi 1990; Lambert 1978. The commonly used English translation "former gods" is misleading. These deities have not ceased to be deities; rather their *fluorit* was in an age in the remote past. Hittite *karuili-* "primeval" derives from the adverb *karū* which, although it often has the force "already" or "previously", is used in mythological narrative in the pregnant sense which E. Laroche captured so nicely with the Latin phrase *in illo tempore*. Creation's first age was *karū*, and the deities who dominated it were the *karuileš šuneš*.

[79] In the place of honor.

Hurrian city we may find evidence which will enable us to distinguish what elements in the later syncretized cultures are actually Hurrian contributions.

We can only wish the Buccellatis success in this, their most exciting new endeavor.

Bibliographical References

Alp, Sedat

1991 *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI.Dizi-Sa. 34*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Archi, Alfonso

1990 The Names of the Primeval Gods. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 59 (2):114-129.

Astour, Michael

1989 *Hittite History and Absolute Chronology of the Bronze Age*. Edited by P. Šström, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature 73*. Gothenburg/Partille: Paul Šströms Förlag.

Beal, Richard Henry

1986 The History of Kizzuwatna and the Date of the Sunassura Treaty. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 55:424-445.

Beckman, Gary M.

1996 Hittite Diplomatic Texts. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Writings from the Ancient World 7*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

de Martino, Stefano

1991 I rapporti tra Ittiti e Hurriti durante il regno di Mursili I. *Hethitica* 11:19-38.

1993 Problemi de cronologia ittita. *La Parola del Passato* 270:218-240.

de Roos, Johan

1984 Hettitische Geloften. Een teksteditie van Hettitische geloften met inleiding, vertaling en critische noten. Ph.D., Universiteit van Amsterdam.

del Monte, Giuseppe F.

1981 Note sui trattati fra Hattusa e Kizzuwatna. *Oriens Antiquus* 20:203-221.

Desideri, Paolo, and Anna Margherita Jasink

1990 *Cilicia. Dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquisti macedone, Università degli studi di Torino. Fondo di Studi Parini-Chirio. Storia 1.* Torino: Casa Editrice Le Lettere.

Durnford, S. P. B.

1971 Some Evidence for Syntactic Stress in Hittite. *Anatolian Studies* 21:69-75.

Forrer, Emil

1922, 26 *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift. Zweiter Band. Geschichtliche Texte, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 42, Hefte 1-2.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung.

Freu, J.

1987 Problèmes de chronologie et de géographie hittites. Madduwatta et les débuts de l'empire. In *Hethitica VIII: Acta Anatolica E. Laroche oblata*, edited by R. Lebrun, 123-176. Louvain-Paris: Peeters.

Friedrich, Johannes

1957 *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. 1. Ergänzungsheft.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag.

Girbal, Christian

1992 Das hurritische Antipassiv. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 29:171-182.

Goetze, Albrecht

1955 Hittite Dress. In *Corolla linguistica. Festschrift F. Sommer*, edited by H. Krahe, 48ff. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1957a *Kleinasien.* Edited by H. Bengtson. 2nd rev. ed, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients.* München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

1957b On the Chronology of the Second Millennium B.C. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11:53-61.

1968 The Predcecessors of Suppiluliumas of Hatti and the Chronology of the Ancient Near East. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 22:46-50.

1970 Hittite šipant-. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 23 (3):77-94.

Gurney, Oliver R.

1973 The Hittite Line of Kings and Chronology. In *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by K. Bittel, P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate and E. Reiner, 105-112. Istanbul: Nederland Historisch-Archaeologisch Institut in Het Nabije Oosten.

Güterbock, Hans Gustav

1936 Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200 (2. Teil). *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 44:45-149.

1948 The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners to Hesiod. *American Journal of Archaeology* 52:123-134.

1952 *The Song of Ullikummi: Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.

1954 The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire. *Cahiers de la Histoire Mondiale (Journal of World History)* 2:383-394.

1956 The Deeds of Suppiluliuma I as Told by His Son, Mursili II. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10:41-68, 75-98, 107-130.

1969 Ein neues Bruchstuck der Sargon-Erzählung >>König der Schlacht<<. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-gesellschaft zu Berlin* 101:14-26.

Hoffmann, Inge

1984 *Der Erlaß Telipinus, Texte der Hethiter 11*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Hoffner, Harry A., Jr.

1965 The Elkunirsa Myth Reconsidered. *Revue hittite et asianique* 23 (76):5-16.

1967 Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *'OB*. *JBL* 86:385-401.

1980 Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 49:283-332.

1988 The Song of Silver. In *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, edited by E. Neu and C. Rüster, 143-166. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1990 *Hittite Myths*. Edited by B. Long, *Writings from the Ancient World 2*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

1994 The Hittite Word for 'Oil' and its Derivatives. HS 107:104-112.

Jasink, Anna Margherita

1991 Hittite and Assyrian Routes to Cilicia. In *De Anatolia Antiqua / Eski Anadolu I: Travaux et recherches de l'Institut Francais d'Études Anatoliennes*, edited by J. Courtils, J.-C. Moretti and F. Planet. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrienne Maisonneuve.

Kammenhuber, Annelies

1961 *Hippologia hethitica*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1970 Die Vorgänger Suppiluliumas I. Untersuchungen zu einer neueren Geschichtsdarstellung H. Ottens. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 39:278-301.

Kammenhuber, Annelies, and Ahmet Ünal

1974 Das althethitische Losorakel KBo XVIII 151. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* 88:157-180.

Kempinski, Aharon

1983 Die hethitischen und akkadischen Dokumente aus Boğazköy. In *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650-1570 v. Chr.)*, edited by A. Kempinski, 14-57, 197-229. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Lambert, W. G.

1978 The Mesopotamian Background of the Hurrian Pantheon. *Revue hittite et asianique* 36:129-34.

Laroche, Emmanuel

1953 Hourrite *purli, purni* 'Maison'. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale* 47:192-193.

1955 Chronologie hittite: état des questions. *Anadolu* 2:1-22.

1966 *Les noms des Hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck.

1971 *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Vol. 75, *Études et Commentaires*. Paris: Klincksieck.

1978-79 *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.

Lebrun, René

1979 Lawazantiya, foyer religieux kizzuwatnien. In *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, edited by E. Masson, 197-206. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.

Moran, William L., ed.

1992 *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

Neu, Erich

1974 *Der Anitta-Text*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 18*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1985 Neue Wege im Hurritischen. In *Akten des XXIII. Deutschen Orientalistentages*, Wurzburg.

1986 Zur Datierung der Hethitischen Pferdetexte. In *Kaniššuwar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his seventy-fifth birthday, May 27, 1983*, edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and G. M. Beckman, 151-164. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

1988a *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*. Vol. Jahrgang 1988, Nr. 3, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH.

1988b Varia Hurritica. Sprachliche Beobachtungen an der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša. In *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, edited by E. Neu and C. Rüster, 235-254. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1988c Zum hurritischen 'Essiv' in der hurritisch=hethitischen Bilingue aus Hattuša. *Hethitica* 9:157-170.

1988d Zur Grammatik des Hurritischen auf der Grundlage der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus der Boğazköy-Grabungskampagne 1983. In *Hurriter und Hurritisch. Konstanzer Altorientalische Symposien. Band II.*, edited by V. Haas, 95-116. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.

1989 Neue Wege im Hurritischen. In *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg. Ausgewaählte Vorträge*, edited by E. von Schuler, 293-303. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

1990 Zum hurritischen Verbum. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 59 (2):223-233.

1991 Hurritisch *edi* und *istani* in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Hattusa. *Hethitica* 11:129ff.

1992a Der hurritische Absolutiv als Ortskasus. Zur Syntax der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Hattusa. In *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, edited by H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem and A. Süel, 391-400. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

1992b Zu einigen graphischen Varianten in der hurritischen Fassung der hurritischmittelhethitischen Bilingue aus Hattusa. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 29:203-216.

1993 Knechtschaft und Freiheit. Betrachtungen über ein hurritische-hethitisches Textensemble aus Hattusa. In *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationales Symposion Hamburg 17.-21. März 1990*, edited by B. Janowski, K. Koch and G. Wilhelm, 329-362. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1994 Zur mittelhethitischen Sprachform der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša. In *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial Volume of Otakar Klíma*, edited by P. Vavroušek, 189-202. Prague.

1995 Grammatische Skizze zum Text der althethitischen 'Palastchronik'. In *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by T. P. J. v. d. Hout and J. de Roos, 225-244. Istanbul: Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul.

1996 *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I, StBoT 32*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Otten, Heinrich

1951 Die hethitischen 'Königslisten' und die altorientalische Chronologie. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin* 83:47-71.

1955 Der Beitrag der hethitischen Texte zur altorientalischen Chronologie. In *Atti del X Congresso Internazionale Roma 1955. Comitato Internazionale di Scienze Storiche X*, 215-218. Roma.

1968 *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur [in Mainz]. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozial-*

wissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1968. Nr. 3. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz.

1973 *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft 17.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1981 *Die Apologie Hattusilis III.: Das Bild der Überlieferung.* Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 24.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1984 Blick in die altorientalische Geisteswelt: Neufund einer hethitischen Tempelbibliothek. *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*:50-60.

1988a *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV., Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 1.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1988b Ebla in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Boğazköy. In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, edited by H. Hauptmann and H. Waetzoldt, 291-292. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

Otten, Heinrich, and Christel Rüster

1990 *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, zweiunddreissigstes Heft: Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 32.* Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.

Pecchioli Daddi, Franca

1994 Il re, il padre del re, il nonno del re. *Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea* 1:75-91.

1995 Le così dette 'cronache di palazzo'. In *Atti del II congresso internazionale de hittitolgia*, edited by O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, 321-332. Pavia: Iuculano.

Pecchioli Daddi, Franca, and Anna Maria Polvani

1990 *La mitologia ittita.* Edited by P. Sacchi, *Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 4.1.* Brescia: Paideia Editrice.

Sasson, Jack M., ed.

1995 *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.* 4 vols. New York: Simon and Schuster MacMillan.

Siegelová, Jana

1986 *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente.* 3 vols. Praha: Národní Muzeum v Praze.

Singer, Itamar

1995 Some Thoughts on Translated and Original Hittite Literature. *Israel Oriental Studies* 15:123-128.

Sommer, Ferdinand, and A. Falkenstein

1938 *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I. (Labarna II.)*. Vol. Neue Folge. Heft 16,*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Starke, Frank

1995 *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden. Eine hippologisch orientierte Interpretation des Kikkuli-Textes, Studien ze den Boğazköy-Texten, 41*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Vieyra, M.

1961 Le nom du 'mundus' en hittite. *Revue hittite et asianique* 19 (69):47-55.

Walde, A.

1965 *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (4. Aufl.)*. 4th ed. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag.

Watkins, Calvert

1969 A Latin-Hittite Etymology. *Language* 45:235-242.

Wegner, Ilse

1992 Die selbstandigen Personalpronomina des Hurritischen. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 29:227-238.

Wilhelm, Gernot

1992a Hurritische Berufsbezeichnungen auf *-li*. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 29:239-244.

1992b Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue aus Boğazköy. *Orientalia*. Nova Series 61:122-141.

1992c Notizen zum hurritischen Wörterbuch. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 29:245-248.

1992d Zum hurritischen Verbalsystem. In *Texte, Sätze, Wörter und Moneme. Festschrift für Klaus Heger zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by S. R. Anschütz, 659-671. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

1994 Kumme und *Kumar: Zur hurritischen Ortsnamenbildung. In *Beiträge zur Altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by P. Calmeyer, K. Hecker, L. Jakob-Rost and C. B. F. Walker, 315-320. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Wilhelm, Gernot, and J. Boese

1987 Absolute Chronologie und die hethitische Geschichte des 15. und 14. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. In *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987. Part 1*, edited by P. Šström, 74-117. Gothenburg, Sweden: Paul Šströms Förlag.

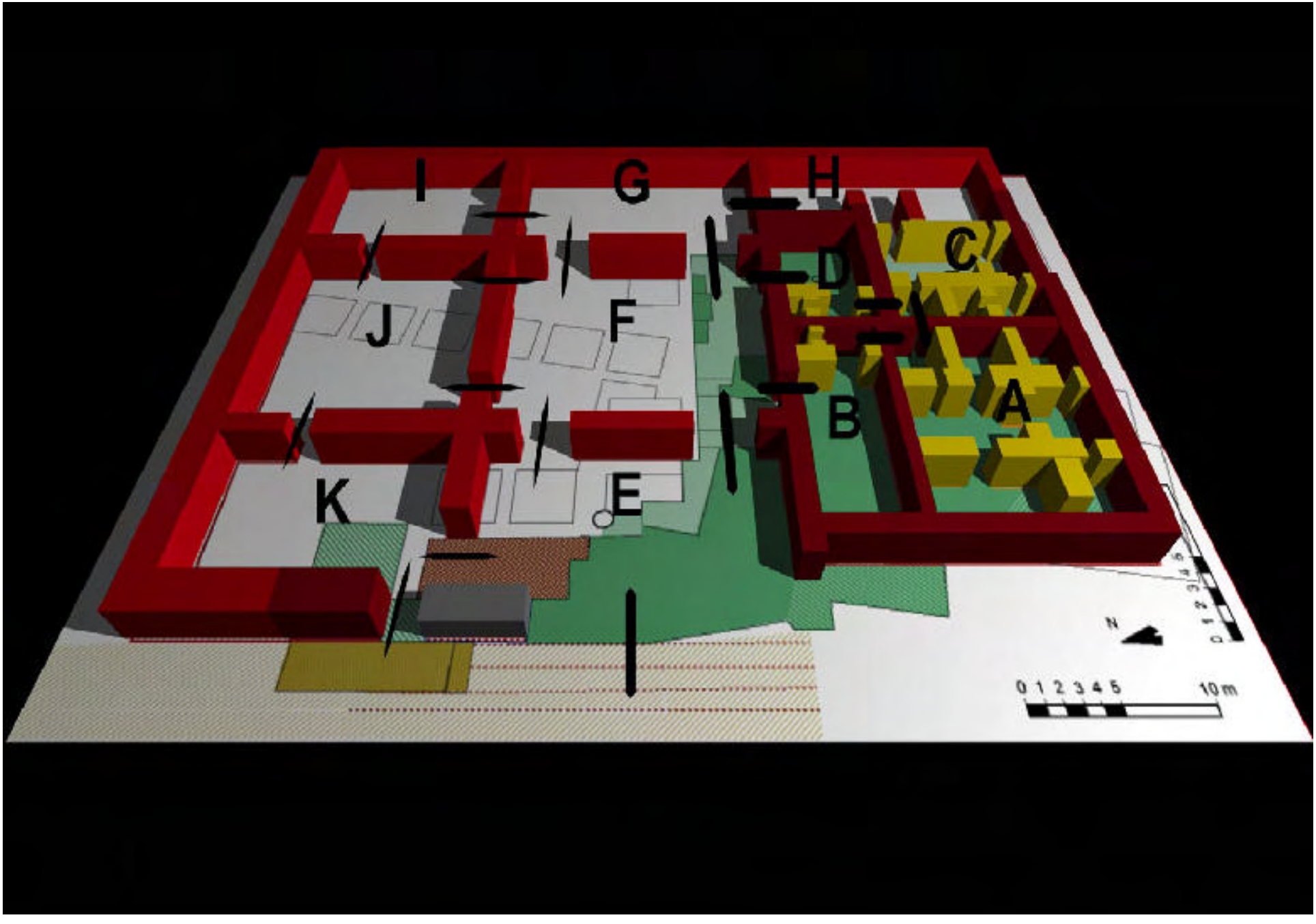
Photographic Data Sets
A publication of IIMAS
The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies

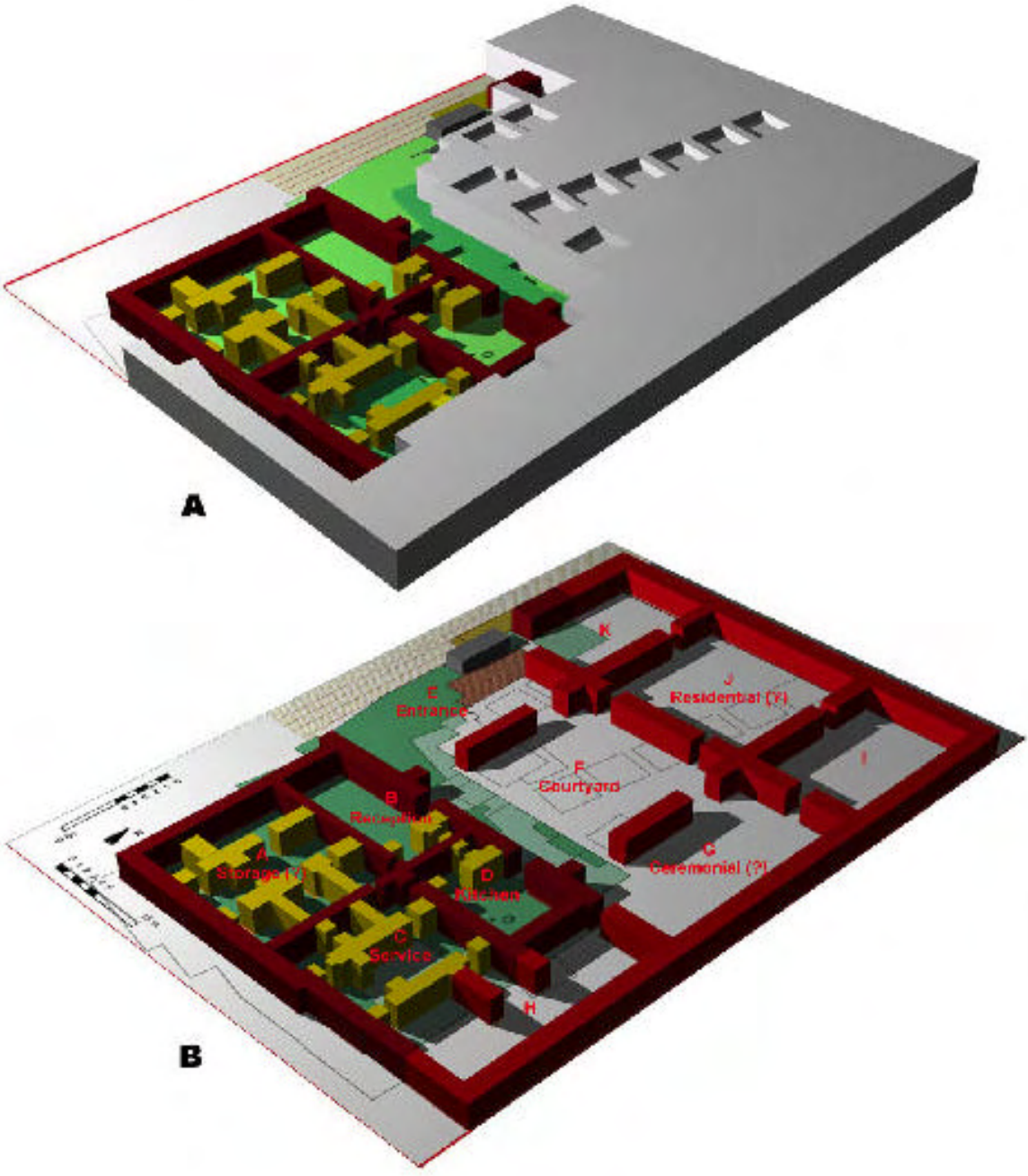
PDS 2
Urkesh and the Hurrians
Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen
A Slide Atlas

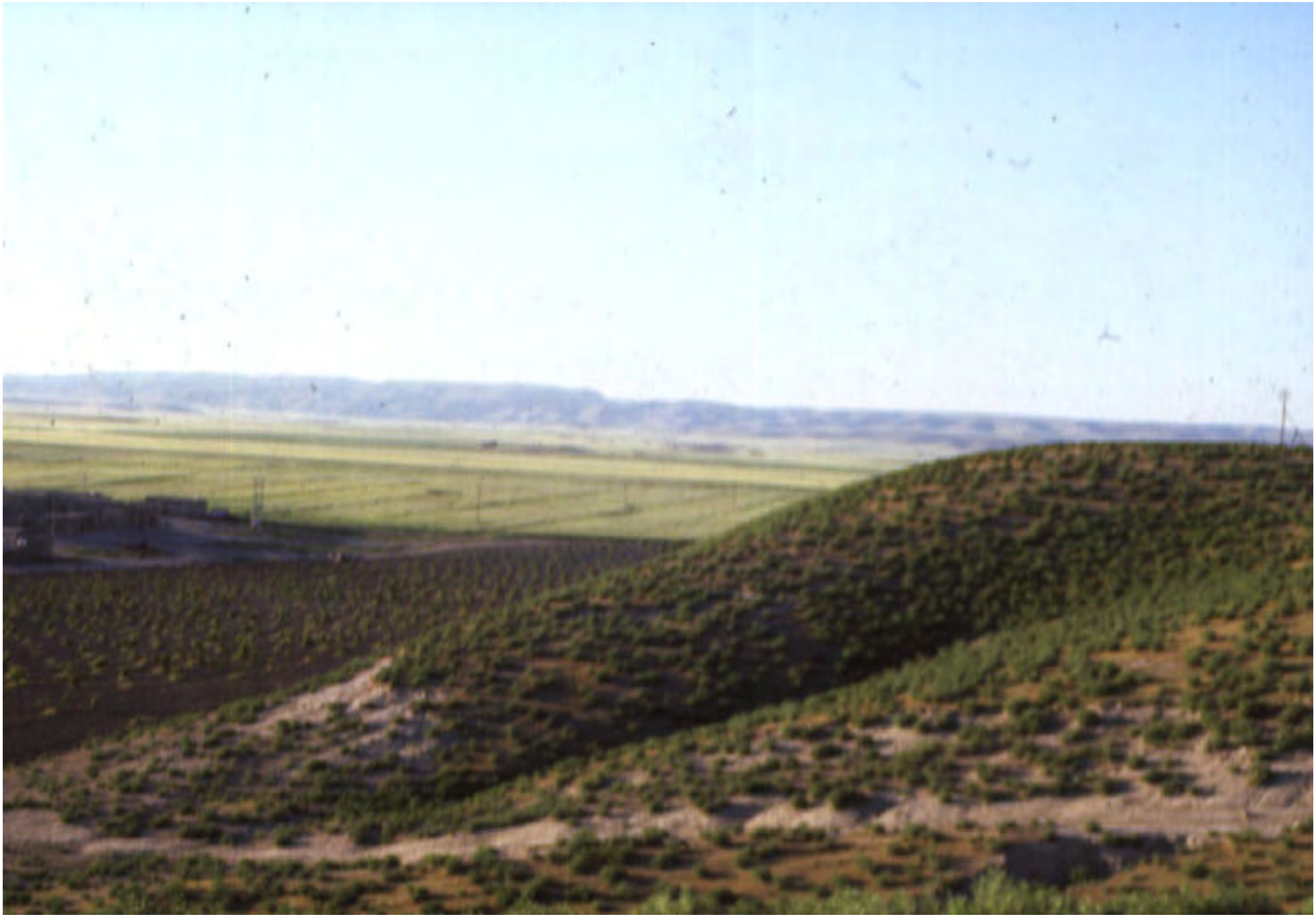
Giorgio Buccellati
and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

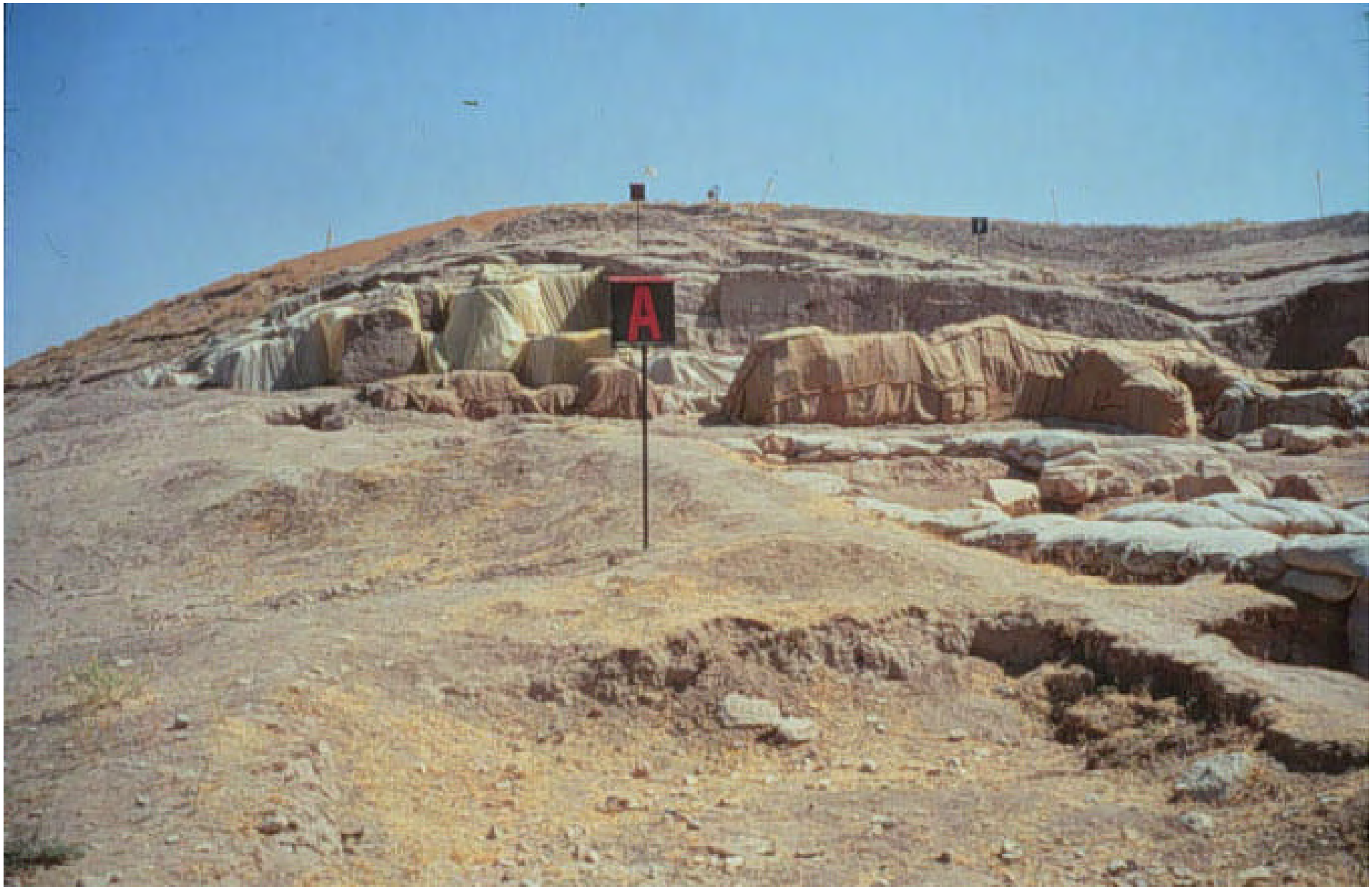
Malibu 1999
Undena Publications

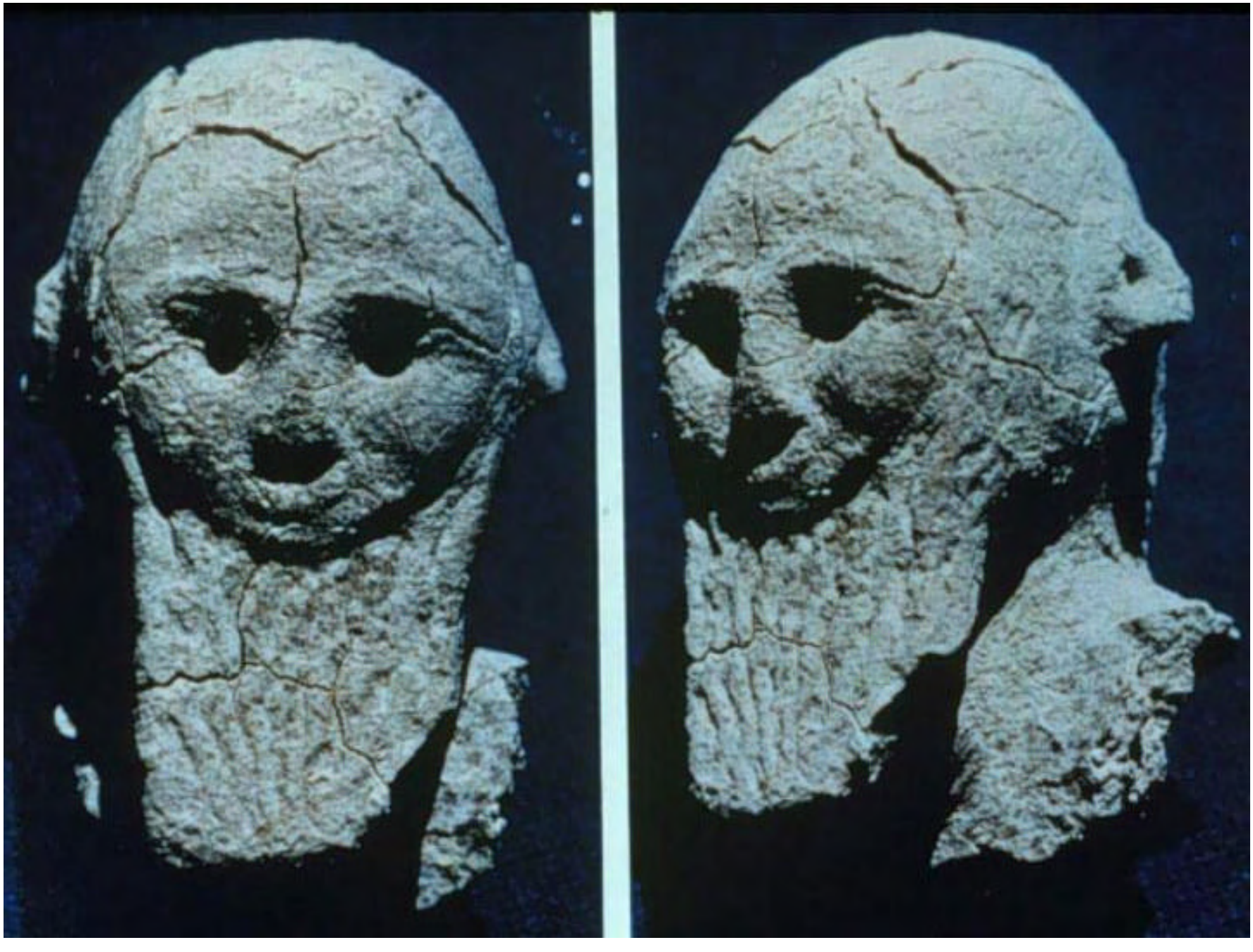
H
I
G
C
D
F
J
B
A
K
E
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 m
excavation line
higher floors within AK
early floors, possibly not AK
early floors
subfloor, eroded
brickfall (after AK)
projected
robbed/eroded & reconstructed
room walls
stone platform
main walls
city wall (?)


I
G
H
D
C
J
F
B
A
K
E
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 10m


A
B
K
J
Residential (?)
E
Entrance
F
Courtyard
I
B
Reception
A
Storage (?)
D
Kitchen
C
Ceremonial (?)
C
Service
H




A



INTRODUCTION

The material presented in the volume Urkesh and the Hurrians. Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen covers a variety of topics, of which the following chapters are illustrated in this collection of slides:

Chapter 3: G. Buccellati, “Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City”

Chapter 4: M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Workshops of Urkesh”

Chapter 5: F. Buccellati, “3-D Rendering and Animation at Tell Mozan/Urkesh”

Chapter 6: R. Hauser, “The Equids of Urkesh: What the Figurines Say”

Chapter 9: G. Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tishatal von Urkesh”

Purpose of the slides is to provide color illustration for some excavation views and some of the items discussed in these articles: the items in particular are among the most significant that have been discovered so far at ancient Urkesh. In addition, the slides generously made available from the Louvre support the Wilhelm's new edition princeps of this major Hurrian text which we may now safely assume originated from Tell Mozan.

The excavations in Area AK have taken place over a period of 5 excavation seasons from 1990 to 1997. Two groups of slides illustrate the excavations of the building, and, at the same time, the three-dimensional renderings which are discussed from a technical point of view in this volume. PDS 2.1 gives a color similar to the floor plan printed as Fig. 4 in Chapter 3 of the volume, while PDS 2.2 gives a 3-D rendering of the building seen from the direction perspective, from a medium high point of view (see chapter 5, Fig. 1, and the discussion of the three-dimensional aspect on pp. 57-59). Both slides emphasize the projection of the main perimetral wall (in red), while the subdivisions within sectors are given only for the portions which have in fact been excavated (in yellow). The dark green represents the level of the first floor of the Royal Building, while the light green represents the higher floor levels. PDS 2.3 gives a different point of view (from the South-East), and juxtaposes (A) a view with a schematic rendering of the portion of the mound that remains to be excavated with (B) the full projection as envisaged in PDS 2.1 and 2.2. A tentative functional identification for the various sectors is suggested in the (B).

The views PDS 2.4 and 2.5 are taken from a similar point of view to the South, and show the status of the stepped trench AS just before excavations in 1990 (PDS 2.4) and after the last season of

excavations in 1997 (PDS 2.5). The direction of the photos is similar to that chosen for the 3-D rendering in PDS 2.3.

The next set of slides gives a progression of overhead views (all taken with the kite) from 1990 to 1997. PDS 2.6 and 2.7 date to 1990, at the end of the first season of excavations, PDS 2.8 dates to 1994 and shows at the bottom an extensive collection of soil sample about to be floated, and PDS 2.9 dates to 1997 and shows the completed excavation of sector D (the kitchen area, with a circular oven clearly visible in the center). Common to all photos is the central dividing wall between sectors AB and CD, which takes the appearance of a T at its northern end. The difference in time (7 years) between PDS 2.6/7 and 2.9 highlights the effectiveness of our conservation efforts, which are illustrated in PDS 2.10: a quilt of burlap bags is draped over the walls, covering a protective sheeting of plastic. The posters mark specific areas which are referred to in a booklet available to visitors to the site, as a guide towards an understanding of the excavated structures..

Of the objects discussed in Chapter 4 we illustrate here the stone sculpture, one clay figurine and three sealings. For a variety of reasons discussed in the volume, all of these works may be assumed to stem from workshops active in Urkesh itself. PDS 2.11 gives a side view of the stone lion from the Temple BA. The poor conditions of the face and the hind quarters prevent us from appreciating the full artistic impact of what must have been an impressively naturalistic rendering of a live animal. A similar concern for naturalism is seen PDS 2.14, where the seal renders rather dramatically a lion crouching at the feet of the king. (Both items are juxtaposed in the Volume as Plates 6 and 7 of Chapter 4 of the volume). A similar naturalistic concern is exhibited in the plowing scene PDS 2.12, where it is especially the effort of the plowman in a downward motion towards the furrow that is striking. This view is given as Illustration 2B in Chapter 4 of the volume.

A different type of naturalistic concern appears in the portrait-like renderings of the small clay figurine of a human head (PDS 2.13), the gift-bearers in the sealing PDS 2.15, and the two princes in the sealing PDS 2.15/16.

The cuneiform inscriptions in PDS 2.14 and 2.15 are particularly important because the retain the writing of the name [Ur]kesh (14) and Tupkish endan (15).

Two equid figurines have been selected to illustrate two aspects of the variety of types present in the Urkesh corpus, as discussed in detail in Chapter 6. PDS 2.17 represents a wild equid, and PDS 2.18 a domesticated one, complete with a detailed rendering of the harness.

The slides of Tish-Atal stone tablet from the Louvre (published in more detail in the volume on Plates XVIII-XX) document the position of the tablet as part of the foundation deposit in which it was placed. The clear traces of green oxidation left by the bronze on the stone (PDS 2.20) indicate that the stone tablet was placed upside down, since the reverse of the text was in the up position. The obverse (PDS 2.19), on the other hand, shows clearly the special writing of Urkesh otehrwise documented in the Tupkish seal legend (PDS 2.14).

The photographs from the Louvre were taken by Ch. Larrieu, and are reproduced here through the courtesy of Dr. Beatrice André-Salvini, Curator at the Museum. The other photographs were taken by A. Abd el-Ghafour and S. Abd el-Ghafour, G. Buccellati, F. Buccellati, G. Gallacci, D. Ghidoli.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buccellati, Giorgio and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

1988 *Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* Malibu: Undena Publications. "Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 20," pp. 158, pl. XXIV.

1997 "Urkesh. The First Hurrian Capital," *Biblical Archaeologist* 60: 77-96

1998 *Urkesh and the Hurrians. Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*. Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3 = Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26, Malibu: Undena Publications

Kelly-Buccellati, Marilyn

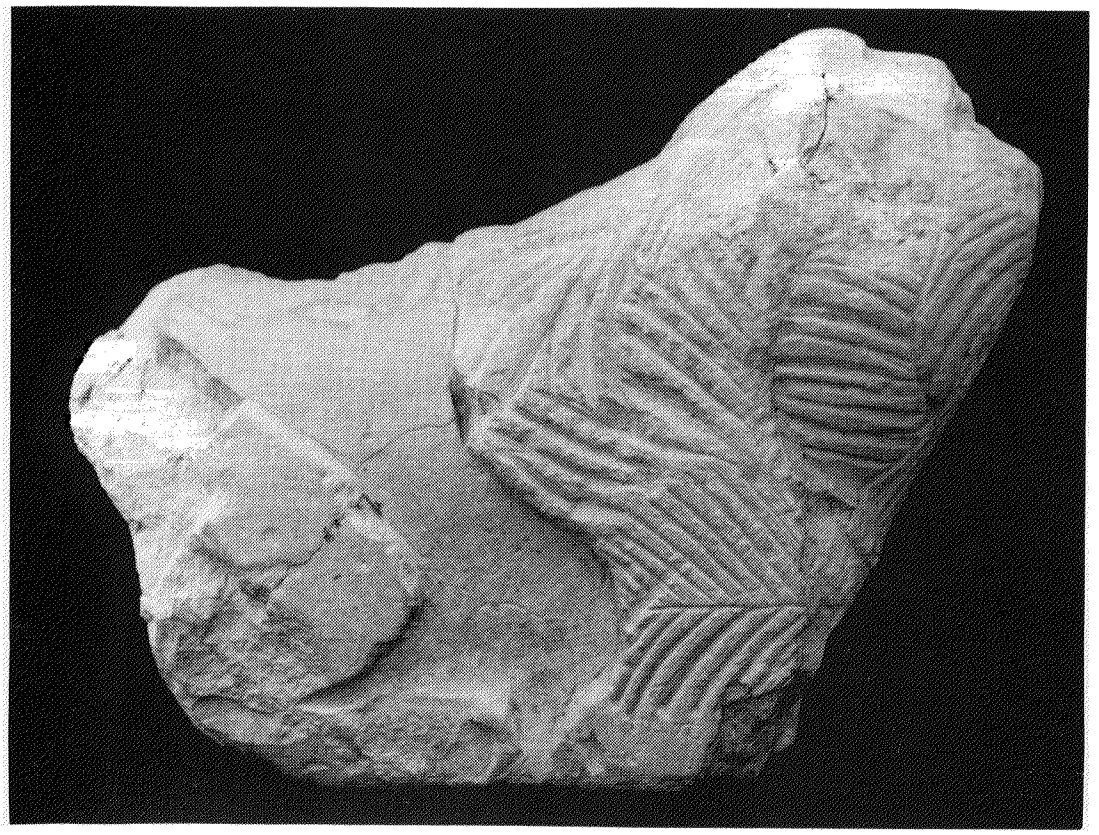
1989 "A New Third Millennium Sculpture from Mozan," *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, ed by Albert Leonard, jr and Bruce Beyer Williams. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization No. 47. pp. 149-154, and Pl. 26.

1990 "Three Seasons of Excavation at Tell Mozan," in Seyyare Eichler, Marcus Wäfler, David Warburton eds. *Tall Al-Hamidiya 2*, Freiburg and Göttingen, pp.119-132.

© Copyright 1999 by Undena Publications, Malibu

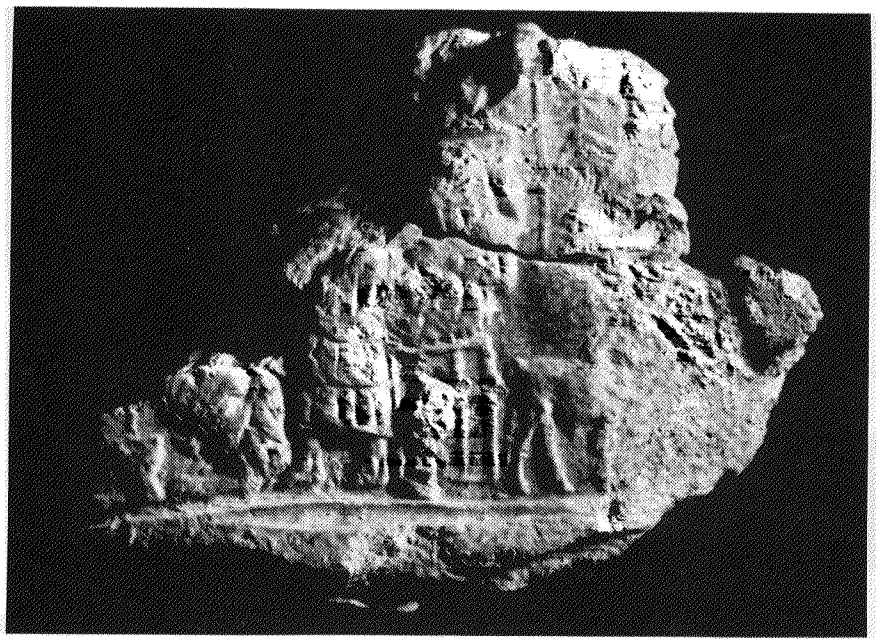
All rights reserved. No slide or other part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

A separate electronic edition of this publication, as well as the complete text of the companion volume *UMS* 3, is included in Compact Disk No. 1 of the *IIMAS Electronic Editions.*



Ill. 1. Stone lion from temple B (B1.164).

Ill. 2. Detail of seal impression (k2) showing lion at foot of throne and vessel placed in front (A1.455).



A

B

Ills. 3-4. Clay head of bearded man (A1.23).
Ill. 3.Side A: front and left. Ill. 4. Side B: right.

Ill. 5. Bearded man: frontal view.

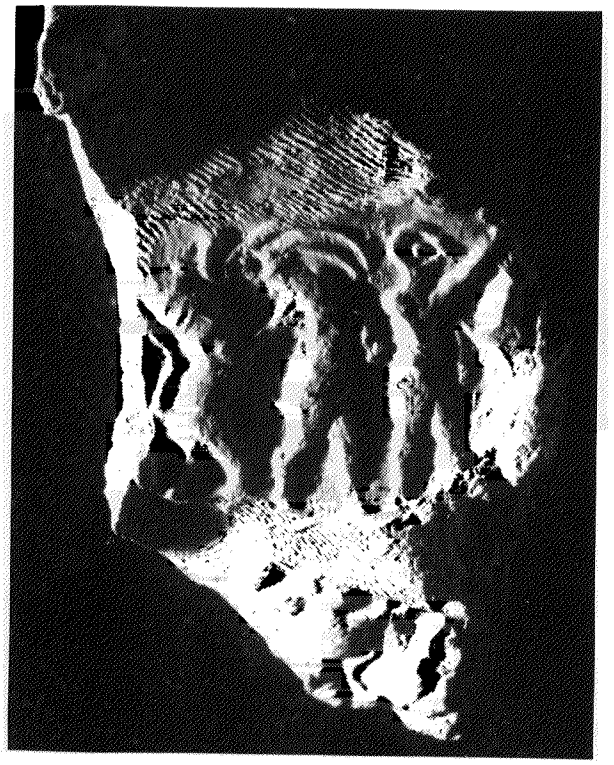
Ill. 6. Painted clay head from C1.1.

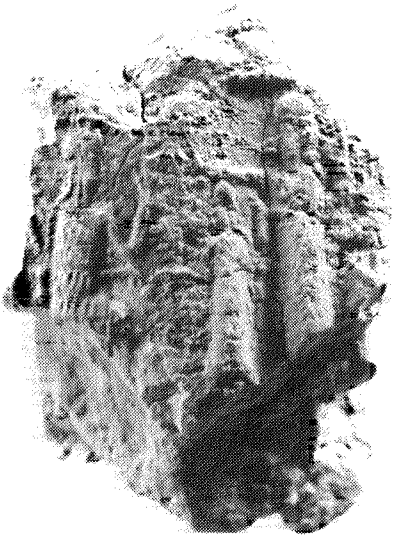
A

Ill. 7. Round-topped double-sided stele (B1.19).
Side A: Animal herd in motion. Side B: Plowman.

B

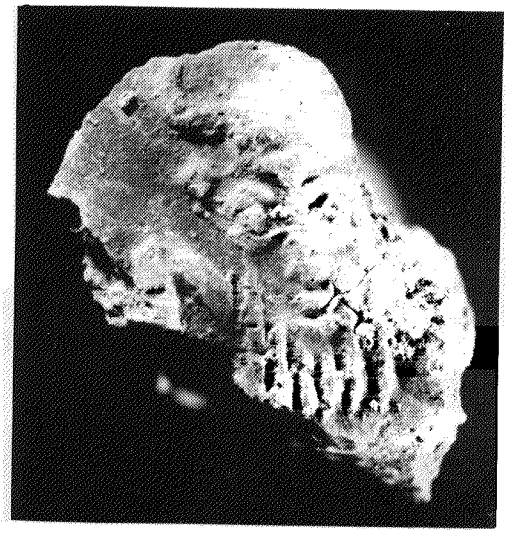
8



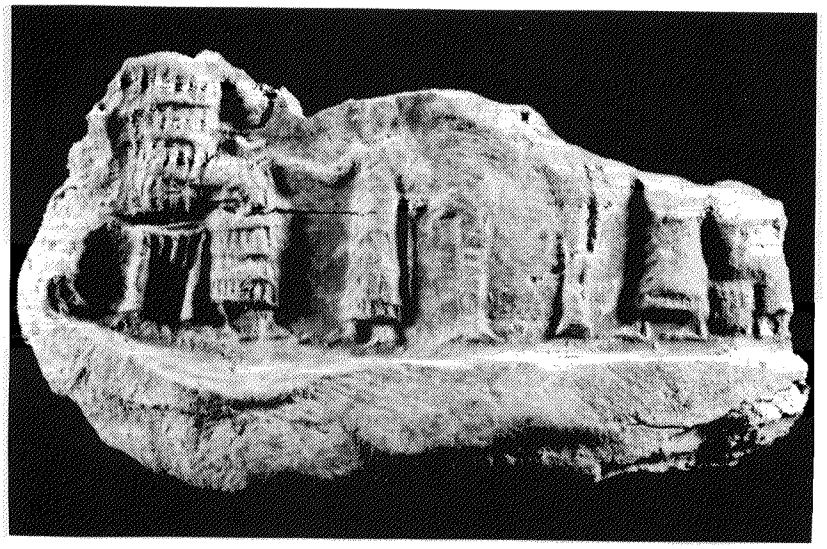


10

11



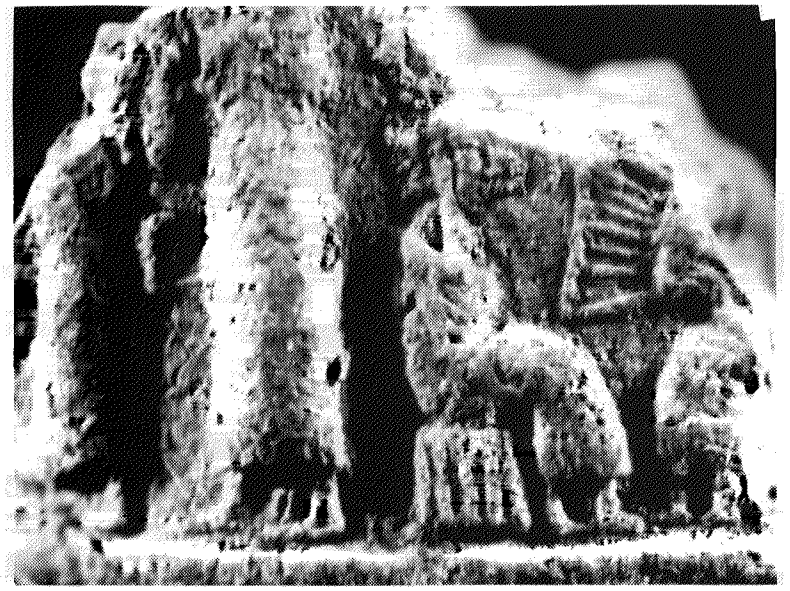
Ill. 8. Seal impression of Innin Shadu, h4 (A1.98).
Ill. 9. Impression of q6 (A5.76).
Ill. 10. Detail of queen and her daughter in q4 (A5q928.7).
Ill. 11. Human-headed bull under the inscription of h1 or h2 (A5.61).
Ill. 12. Detail of body of bull and attendant in h1 (A5.186).

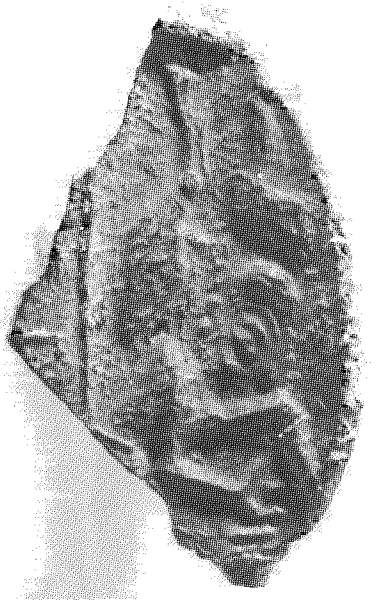


9

12

13

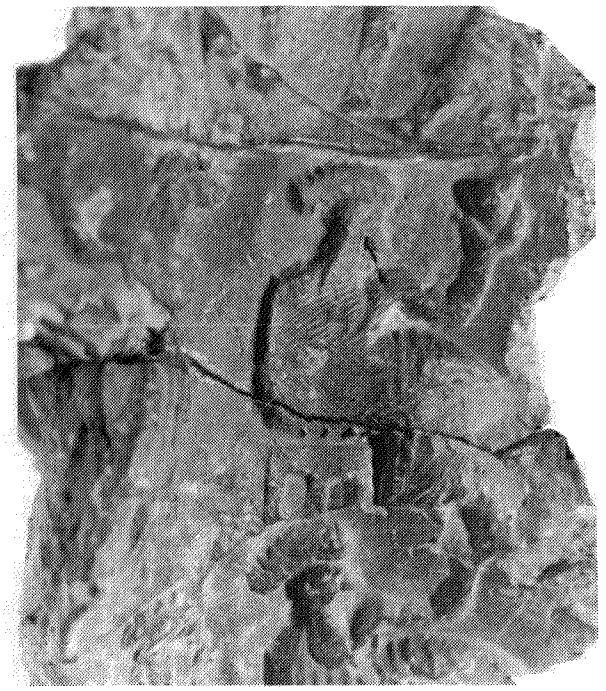




14

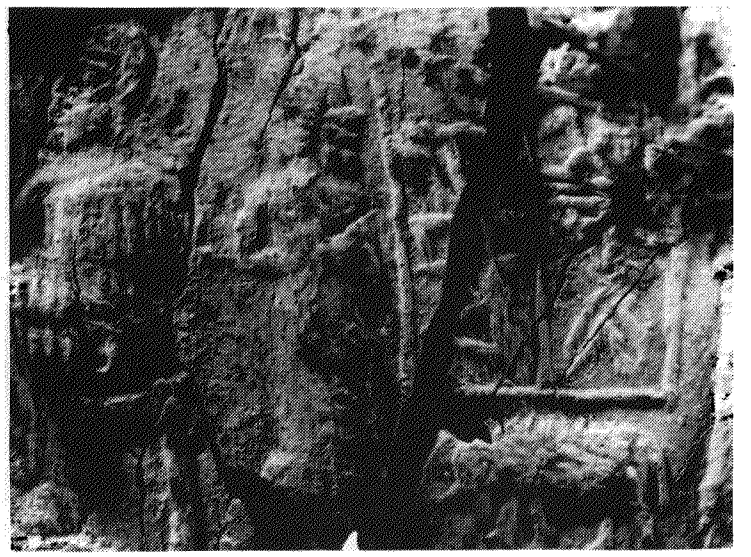
Ill. 13. Detail of singer and lyre in q4 (A5.50).
Ill. 14. Detail of assistant cook in h3 (A1q962.6).
Ill. 15. Detail of boar under the inscription in q3 (A1.390).
Ill. 16. Detail of banquet scene (A5.91).
Ill. 17. Detail of attendant holding a ball of thread in k1 (A5.163).

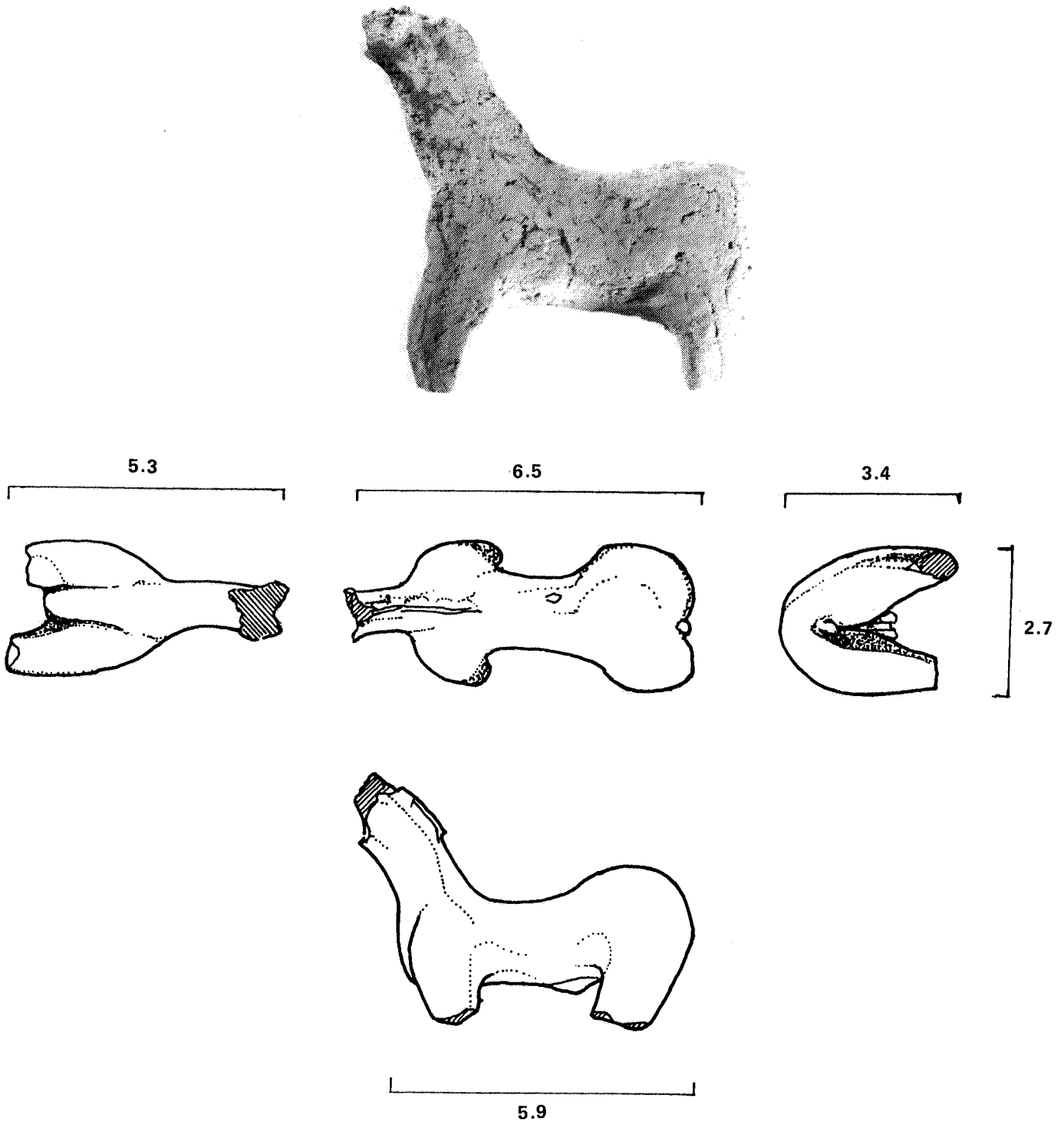
17



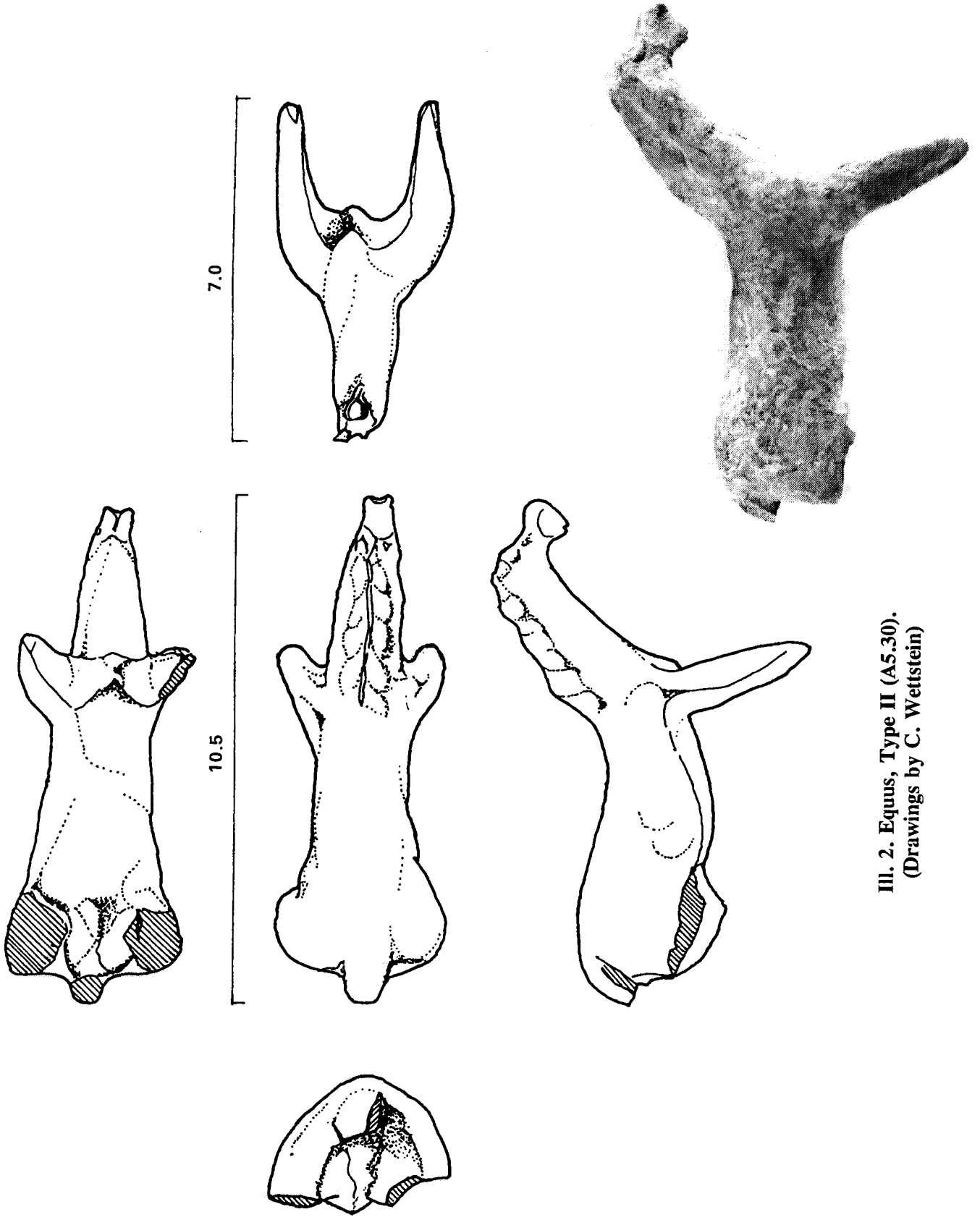
16

15

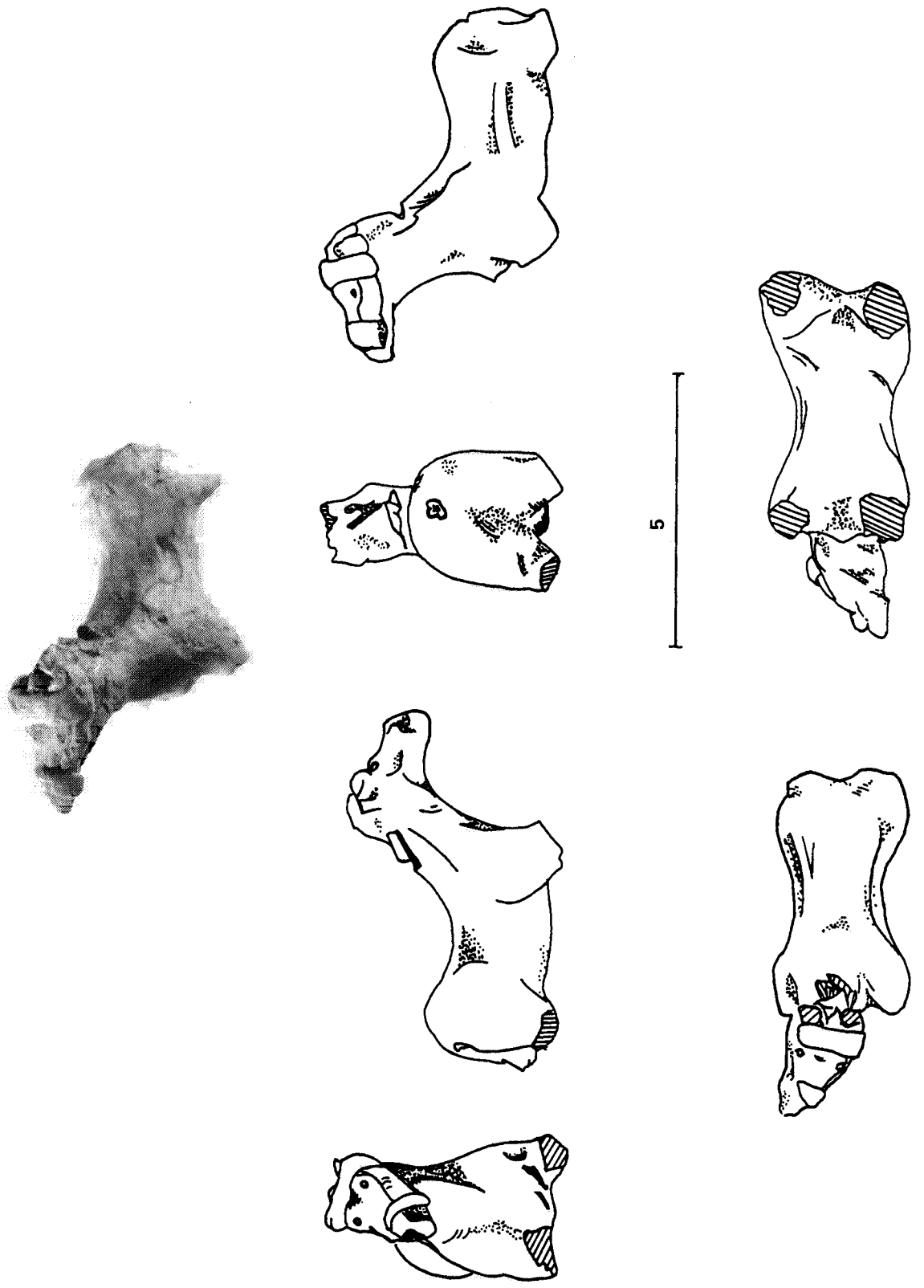




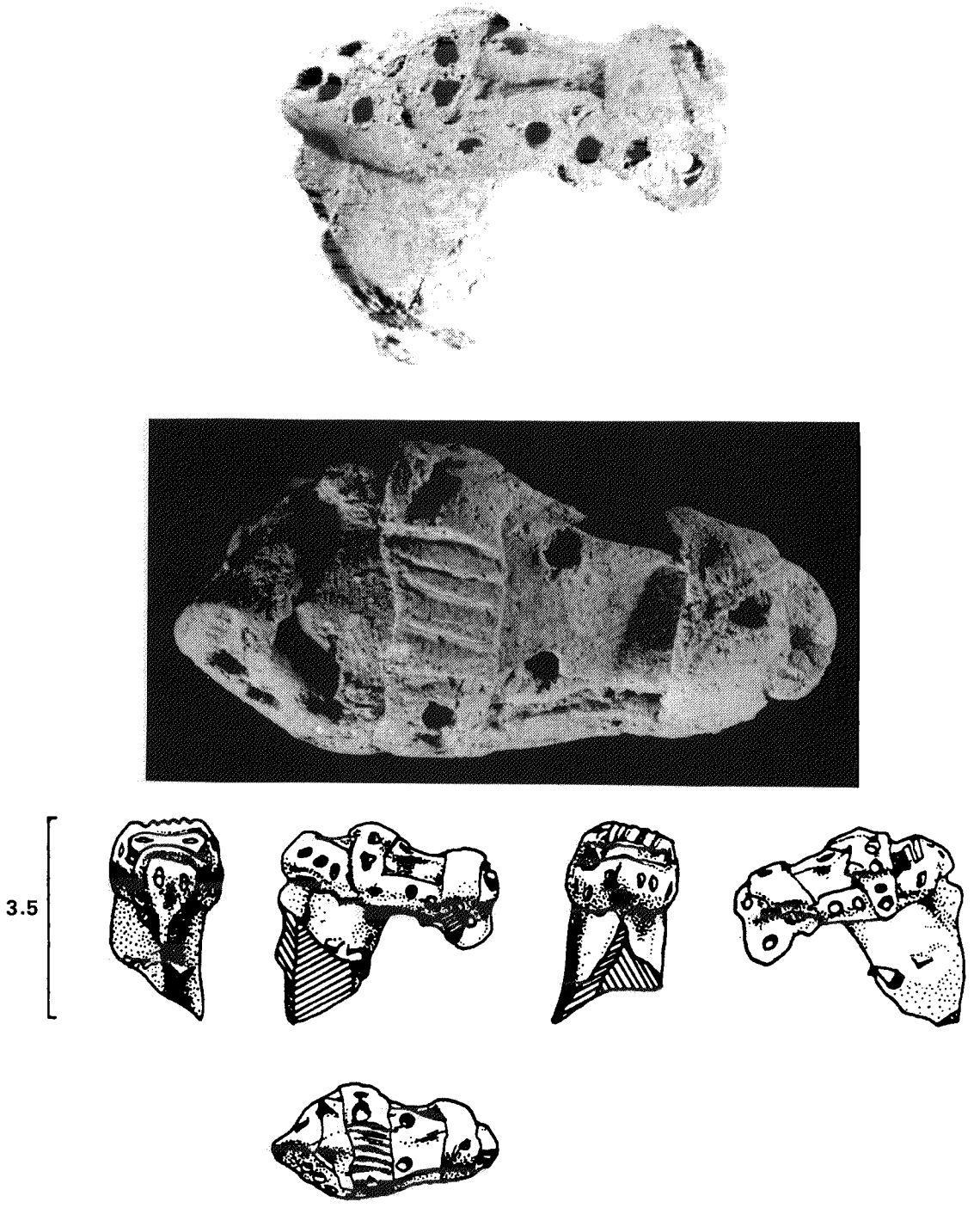
Ill. 1. Equus, Type I (A6.238).
(Drawings by C. Wettstein)



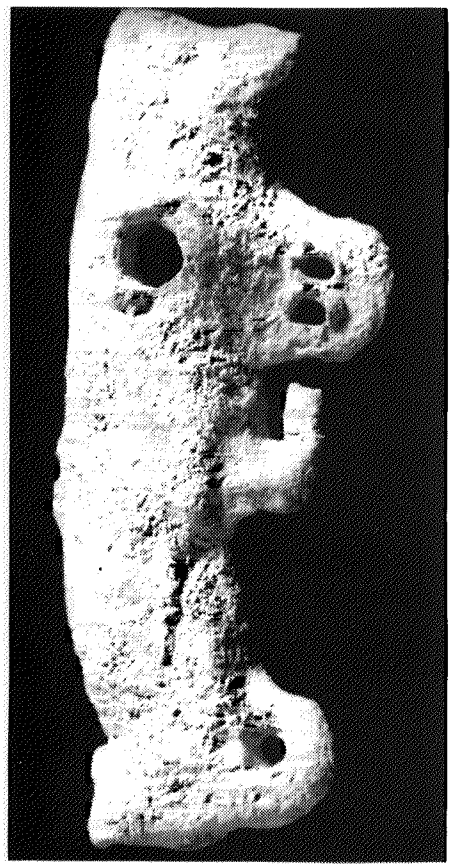
Ill. 2. Equus, Type II (A5.30).
(Drawings by C. Wettstein)

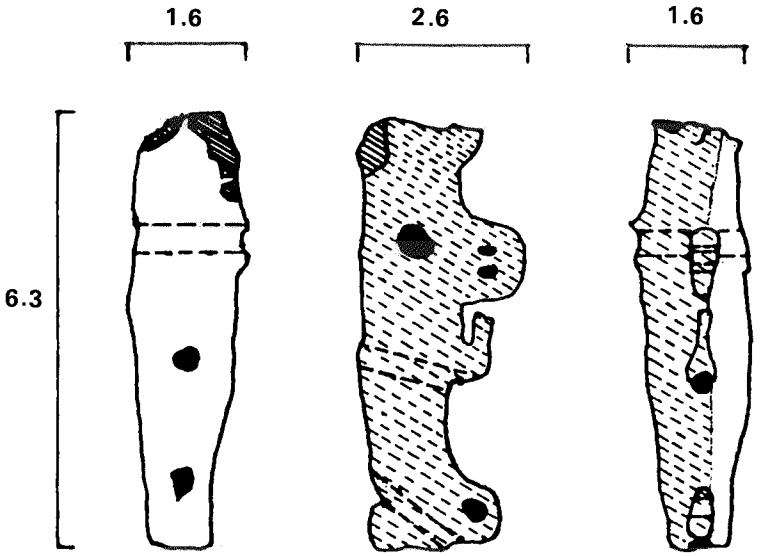


Ill. 3. Equus, Type III (A5q815-f).
(Drawings by E. Besson)



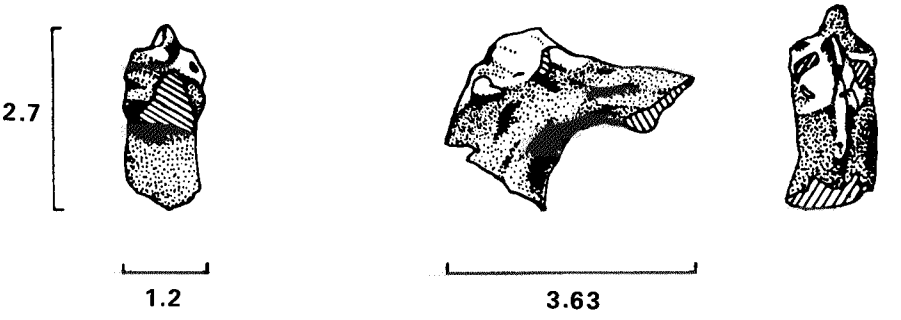
Ill. 4. Equus, Type III (K3.16).
(Drawings by P. Pozzi)

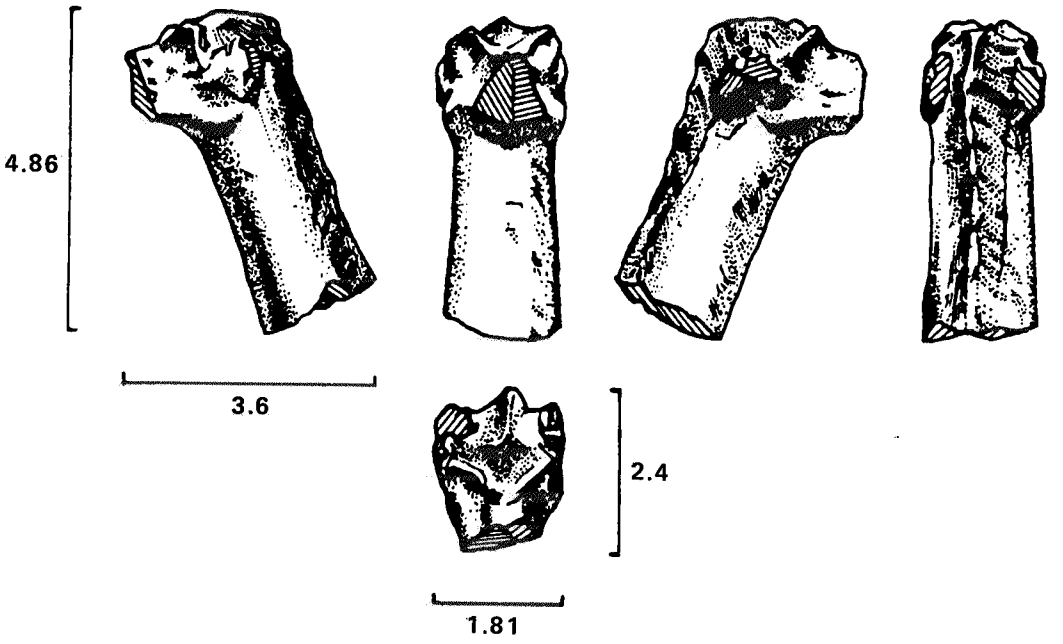




Ill. 5. Equus (BH383.2).
(Drawing by C. Wettstein)

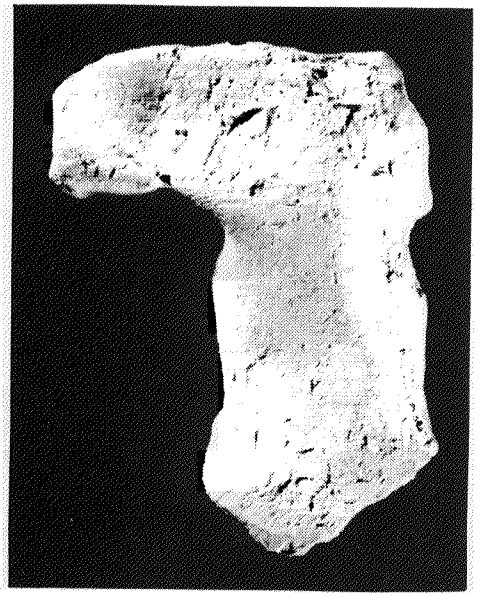
Ill. 6. Equus (A1q960.8).
(Drawing by E. Besson)

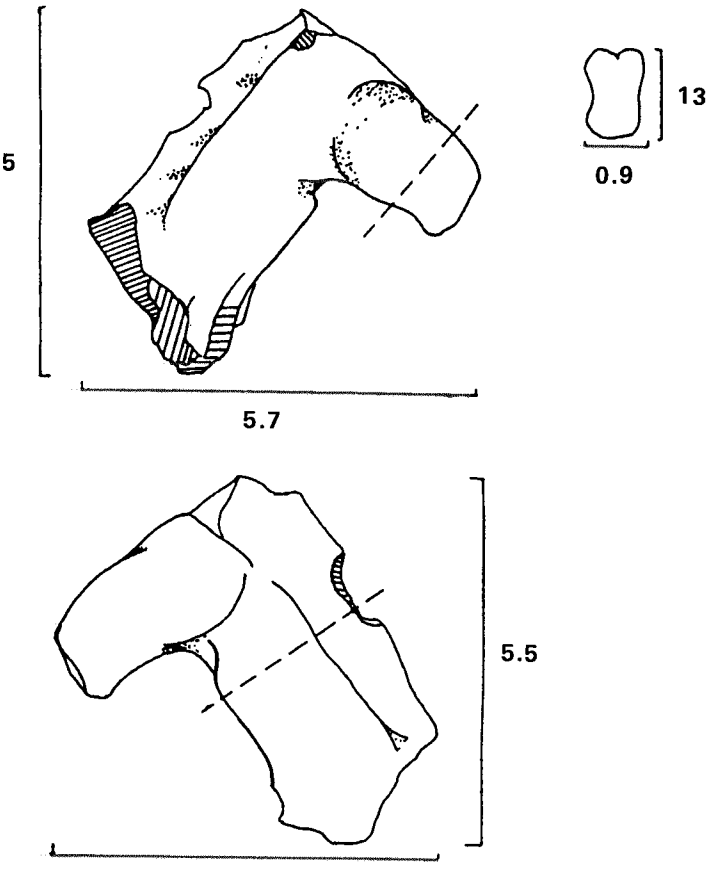




Ill. 7. Equus (A5q63-f).
(Drawing by P. Pozzi)

Ill. 8. Equus (A1q836-f).
(Drawing by E. Besson)





Ill. 1. Lion (AO 19937) with stone tablet (AO 19938).

Ill. 2a. Stone tablet of Tish-atal (AO 19938) (obverse).

Ill. 2b. Stone tablet of Tish-atal (reverse).

Photographs copyright Christian Larrieu, courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales.

1 AK building: floor plan

Studio. – Same as *UMS* 3 p.23, Fig. 2 and Chapter 4, Fig. 1.

The floor plan renders the excavations as of the 1997 season: the perimetral walls of each excavated sector are shown in dark red, while the inner walls are in light brown. Dark green marks floors excavated to the first level of occupation, light green for higher floors. The white floor areas marks a presumed maximal projection of the building. The walls rendered with hatching are our approximate1998 projections for a maximal layout of the building.

2 AK building: 3-D view looking East

Studio. – Same as *UMS* p.60, Fig. 4.4.

An oblique view in the same direction as the floor plan above. Circulation patterns between sectors are highlighted by heavy arrows. Note the importance of the nodal rooms among sectors A,B,C,D. The walls as envisaged in our 1998 projections are shown in lighter red (in the slide), and the floor surface in white. Walls in dark red mark the perimeter of the functional sectors, and walls in yellow the partitions within such sectors. There is no appreciable structural difference that corresponds to the two types of walls.

[3-D rendering by F. Buccellati]

3 AK building: 3-D view looking northwest

Studio. – Same as UMSp. 26, Fig. 6 and p 61, Fig. 4.2ab

The view at the top (A) shows the excavated portions of the Royal Building AK, including the squares of the original soundings from the 1990 excavations (which have not yet come down to the top of the walls of the Royal Building AK). The view at the bottom (B) shows our projections for the full layout of the building as we understand it in 1998. The contrast between the two views highlights the work ahead of us in order to arrive at a full determination of the natrue of the building.

Also shown in view B is our preliminary understanding of the functional areas of the building. The excavated areas in the southwest of the building (with floor in green) are the storage, kitchen and service areas. We presume that those yet to be excavated include the ceremonial areas (e.g., the throne room), the residential quarters and the administrative sectors. Several more seasons of excavations will be needed to disprove or verify these hypotheses.

[3-D rendering by F. Buccellati]

4 AK: view before excavations in 1990

MZ V6-c0107 (looking NNW)

This particular spot was chosen because it is the only place on the tell where the sides are gently sloping and provide sufficient space at the base for horizontal exposure of the lowermost strata. A long line of soundings was started from the top running parallel to the outer edge, so as not to cut perpendicularly the city wall which we expected to be hiding at the base. This was also the highest point on the tell (marked by the surveying metal tower barely visible here on the right, and more clearly in in *PDS* 2.5), and surface pottery indicated that the latest periods of occupation could be expected at the top, and the earliest at the bottom. — Notice the village of Mozan on the left, and the ridge of the Tur-Abdin in the distance.

5 AK: view of excavations in 1997

MZ V10-c20035 (looking north)

Taken from a similar angle as the preceding slide, this view shows the progress of excavations after five seasons of excavation. The Royal Building AK is now exposed to its maximum current extent (compare the 3-D graphic in *PDS* 2.3, with a view angle similar to that of this photograph). As the mound rises, work to expose the Royal Building will become more intense, but we may also expect preservation to be correspondingly better. Even now, walls are very well preserved, except for the southwestern corner (lower left in the photo) which has been seriously eroded. When contrasted with the extremely small size of the sealings recovered, this photo dramatizes the effort that goes into a proper archaeological recovery of material deposited on ancient floors.

6 AK: overhead in 1990

MZ V6-c4229 (kite picture: north is up)

At the end of the first season of excavations in AK, we had opened a full line of squares (the southern end of this line is shown here), and we began the lateral expansion at the base of tell. This followed our deliberate strategy which aimed at taking advantage of the special topographic conditions: only here on the tell is there a sizable flattening out of what is otherwise a rather steep edge of the mound. — Notice the debris accumulated on the left: this is removed with a bull-dozer after the end of the season.

7 AK: close overhead of area A1 in 1990

MZ V6-c4235 (kite picture; north is up)

A lower altitude picture taken at the same time as the preceding slide: it shows in detail the top of the stone substructure of the walls (mudbricks have been eroded because the mound here slopes heavily to the southwest). In the upper part of the slide, mudbrick begins to be visible under the baulks: this is the location of the "vault" in sector B. Some of the walls are visible in *PDS* 2.9, showing how effective our preservation of the architecture has been through the use of burlap wrapping (shown in *PDS* 2.10).

8 AK: overhead in 1993

MZ V8-c3104 (kite picture; north is up and left)

During the eighth season (the third in AK) we worked exclusively on the floor accumulations in Room B1, because the nature of the deposit (laden with fragile and important sealings) warranted a slower effort. It was only through such a procedure that the sealings with the inscribed legends identifying Urkesh were found. Along the southern edge of the excavation area are the black bags containing the soil samples that were collected in great quantities from the same floor accumulations. The dark spot on the lower right marks the water discharge from our floatation of the entire soil collection.

9 AK: close-up of area A6 in 1997

MZ V10-c9027 (kite picture; north is up)

A medium altitude view showing on the left the tops of the walls uncovered in 1990 (see *PDS* 2.7) and the kitchen area with a large tannur in the middle of the room. In the upper part of the photo, a sounding in Excavation Area A9 uncovered a substantial baked brick paving, possibly a patio-like feature leading to important rooms to the north or the east. Excavations in the lower right (Area A10) show several steps due to our attempts at reaching the top of the presumed perimetral wall of the building, which eluded us during the 1997 season.

10 AK: wrapping of walls after excavations

MZ V10-c9937 (looking NNE)

On an interim basis, we have draped the walls of building AK with burlap bags lined with plastic and made into vary large quilts. The procedure has been successful in protecting both mudbrick and stone. It also highlights the structural layout of the building for visitors, especially since the color of the burlap is similar to that of plastered mudbrick. As work progresses and the importance of the building becomes established, we are beginning to plan for more permanent, means of preservation. — The sign with the letter A is one of several placed on the site: they refer to a booklet which is given to visitors as an explanation of the archeological remains.

11 Statue of lion from temple BA

B1.164; MZ V3-c3132; *UMS* 3, p. 40

From Temple BA, mid third millennium. — The statue was excavated in the debris created by the destruction of the earliest phase of the temple. It is not certain that this lion was part of the temple furniture but its position near the altar may indicate that it was. The hair pattern was heavily incised in a naturalistic manner. While the eyes may have been originally inlaid, there is no obvious trace of such a manufacturing detail. On the base, the lower part of the legs and paws are indicated.

12 Stele from temple area BA: plowman

B1.19; MZ V; *UMS* 3, 36-39

From just outside the northern wall of temple BA, Akkadian period. — This side of the stone stela depicts a plowman with his draft animal and a dog in the upper portion of the compositional field. The striking aspect of this scene is the diagonal line on the far left with the foot of the plowman against this line as if to propel himself forward. The stele is unfinished, so what the diagonal line represents is not shown. The other side of the stele exhibits an animal herd in motion.

13 Human head figurine from AK

A1.23; MZ V; *UMS* 3, 40-41.

From the southern portion of the AK Royal Building, late third millennium. — The beard, bulging cheeks, small round eyes and pointed chin all contribute to the very distinctive impact of this figurine (which could properly be called a clay statuette, because of its sharp individuality and distinctiveness. The eyes were probably never inlaid as they are only small deep holes with no trace of impressions as might have been left by other materials. The top of the head shows some striations which undoubtably were meant to represent a hair pattern.

14 Seal impression of king’s seal k2

A1.455; MZ V9-c1020; *UMS* 3, p.48

From the main floor of the Royal Building AK, late third millennium. — This seal impression contains the portion of the original cylinder seal with a tall footed vessel in front of the reclining lion. The lion’s mouth is open with his abundant mane naturalistically rendered. The hindquarters can be seen under the chair of the seated king.

15 Tribute bearers to the king (?)

A5.163; MZ V9-c2020; *UMS* 3, p. 48

From the main floor of the Royal Building AK, late third millennium. — The attendant holds what may be a ball of thread held on an outstretched palm as if to clearly indicate that this object was indeed light in weight. The attendant in front wears a cap with a chin piece; the figure had folded arms and apparently was not carrying anything. We have only a small part of the object in front of these two figures which may be a piece of furniture.

16 Non-domesticated equid figurine (onager or wild ass; TYPE I)

A10.89; MZ V10-c0414; *UMS* 3, p. 70

Intact except for chipped hind leg, depositional damage on muzzle and slightly abraded right ear. A layer of clay has eroded from the top of the muzzle, opening the nostril incision far back into the muzzle; it is not likely that the nostrils were originally open. The ears are curved back and sharply pointed and are formed of two narrow pieces of clay, tapered and pulled: the join is incomplete at the top of the ear. There are light incisions along the rim, as if to indicate the fine hairs of the pelt. The muzzle is blunt and rectangular in section. There is no breast-ridge. Forelegs are solidly founded, but are thrust forward. The mane begins low down on the neck and is evenly notched; it is erect, passing over the crown of the head and onto the muzzle. The tail is carried high and has been laid in as a separate piece of clay; the tail swells out at first, but then tapers to a point. The rump is flat on top and the hindquarters are solidly founded. [RAH]

17 Domesticated equid figurine (possibly a horse; TYPE II)

A5.30; MZ V10-c0834; *UMS* 3, p. 70 f.

The stance of this equid is solidly founded ("four-square" as defined in the typology). The hind-quarters are equal in width, yet heavier in mass than the fore-quarters. The buttocks are fused and recessed. There is a pronounced breast-ridge. The mane falls on both sides of the neck and rises onto the head. There are five ridges on the left side, incised with fingernail; the mane is equally pronounced on right. The detailing of the mane may indicate a horse, rather than a domesticated onager-ass hybrid; the tail also is broad at the base, not thin. The muzzle is pinched and triangular in section. The eye ridges are pronounced; perhaps the right eye is applied, although it may have been lightly pinched from the fabric with a nail, lifted and folded over. Manufacturing techniques include smoothing (torso, hind-quarters and neck) and pinching (mane and head). [RAH]

18 Domesticated horse figurine, with harness (TYPE III)

A5q815-f; MZ V10-c0821; *UMS* 3, p.71f.

A lively, realistic rendering. The head is turned right, and the mane is as if "blowing in the wind" (S. Bökönyi). There are clear signs of domestication: there is a harness, the mane is high between the ears; there is a forelock. The harness is intact, save for one missing piece. The breast-ridge is broken. The ears are held high. The taper of the muzzle is marked; in section, the muzzle is a rectangle becoming a triangle at the snout. The eyes are lightly incised dots. The nostrils are raised. There is a perforation (broken) at the neck; a hole (0.3 cm) at the tail. The sexual organs are indicated. The figurine has been scraped to model. [RAH]

19 Tish-atal tablet: obverse

Louvre, AO19938; photo Ch. Larrieu

20 Tish-atal tablet: reverse

Louvre, AO19938; photo Ch. Larrieu

The reverse shows the stains of the bronze plaque which laid beneath the paws of the lion and on top of the stone tablet. This clearly indicates that the tablet had been placed in the foundation deposit face down.

How to Use This CD-ROM

- Included in the CD
- Platform Compatibility and File Formats
- Navigating the CD-ROM
- Opening the Book
  - Paging the Book
    - Page by Page
    - Chapter to Chapter
  - Viewing magnification
    - To end zooming function
  - Looking Up Figures, Plates or Slides
    - To return to your original page
  - More about Acrobat Reader
    - Switching Window Options
    - Submenu of Bookmarks
    - Other Information on Acrobat Reader
  - Searching a Specific Word or Text Passage
  - Printing the Pages of the Book
- Viewing Digital Slides
  - Showing Slide in Slide Viewer
  - Navigating Slides in PDF Reader
    - Viewing in Reader Window
    - Viewing in Full Screen
    - Returning to Reader Window
- Accessing File Folders

Technical Notes

for Electronic Edition 3
Urkesh and the Hurrians:
A Volume in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen
Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26

Prepared by Fan-xi Xu
and Ong Kar Khalsa

Included in the CD

- *Urkesh and the Hurrians: A Volume in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen.* Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26. – in Portable Document Format (PDF) and MS Word format.
- *Photographic Data Sets 2,* a slide atlas which accompanies BM26. – as a slide show and in PDF format.
- Adobe Acrobat Reader 3.1 – a downloadable program needed in order to read PDF files.

Platform Compatibility and File Formats

PDF is a cross-platform format, so this CD-ROM is accessible in IBM/PC as well as Macintosh systems. The exception is the slide show, which is in a customized PC format. Macintosh users can view the slides in the attached PDF format.

PDF text doesn't support the extended character sets needed to view Akkadian, Hurrian and the other Semitic and Indo-European languages included in this volume. Therefore the files are not searchable text PDF files. These files are an exact replication of the original published work, with the same page formatting.

Also included are copies of the files by chapter in Microsoft Word 6.0 format so that the reader might be able to search for key words or take quotations directly from the text. In order to view the files with the extended character sets, the reader must have Microsoft Word 5.0 or higher operating on Windows 95 or higher. Please note that the page formatting of these word documents is very close, but not identical to the original published work, and so any quotations from this source should be double-checked against the PDF file. The figures are included within each file, but the plates are only accessible in PDF.

Navigating the CD-ROM

Opening the Book

After you insert the CD, your computer automatically runs and displays the book cover. Move your mouse, then you see four buttons at lower left corner of the book cover. Click the button of OPEN BOOK to read the book.

Double clicking on the bookmarks links to the beginning of chapters or sections.

Paging the Book

Several ways of paging the book are available for your convenience. You can turn the pages one by one, or skip to different chapters or pages of the book.

Page by Page

To page forward or backward

1. Move pages up or down (forward or backward) by
   - clicking your mouse on the up or down arrow on the right side scrollbar.

   or
   - by pressing the up or down arrow keys.

2. Skim page by page by
   - clicking on the icon or in toolbar of the Acrobat Reader.

   or
   - pressing the Page Up or Page Down keys on your keyboard.

3. If you know a page and would like to skip to that page, jump to the page by
   - clicking

in the Bookmark pane at left side of the screen

or

   - clicking page box

located in the status bar at the bottom of the Reader window, and then, when input dialog box pops out, type in the box the number of the page you want to go to.

Chapter to Chapter

1. The table of contents is linked to each chapter, plate and figure: you can go to any of these by clicking on each title, so it is a convenient starting point. This is represented by the BM26 bookmark.
2. Bookmarks with each chapter number are located in the navigation pane to the left of the Acrobat Reader window. Clicking on these bookmarks links the reader to each chapter.

Viewing magnification

You can change the viewing magnification of the text and graphics by zooming in or out.

You can zoom on the page by:

1. clicking on the page size icons on the Reader toolbar on the top of the screen: to zoom a page to 100% of the page size; to fit the whole page within the window or to fit the page width in the window;

or

2. using the magnifying tool located in the Reader toolbar;

or

3. clicking or bookmarks and then clicking on the spot of the page you like to zoom in or zoom out.

or

4. clicking the magnification box located in the status bar at the bottom of the Reader window and choose a magnification level. If you choose Zoom To, type in the magnification level and click OK. It is also possible to set a default viewing magnification under the File menu, general preferences;

To end zooming function,

If the mouse pointer keeps zoom in or zoom out icon you should turn back the hand tool by clicking the hand tool icon located in the Reader toolbar.

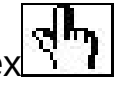
Looking Up Figures, Plates or Slides

Throughout the document there are links to figures, plates and slides referred to in the text, which are shown by dotted red lines, for example;

.

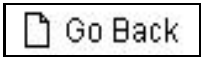
To look up figures, plates or slides

Click on the figure, plate or slide number that is framed with dotted red lines.

Note: Once the mouse icon on the screen, which is usually a hand , turns to be an index  when you move your mouse over a word or a number as well as a bookmark, it indicates that the word or number has a hyperlink. Clicking on the link will lead you to a linked page, figure, plate or slide.

To return to your original page

Once these links have been viewed, you can return to the text by

- clicking on the 

bookmark at the bottom of the bookmark pane

or

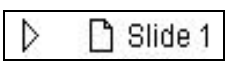
- clicking the icon in the toolbar of the Acrobat Reader at top of the screen.

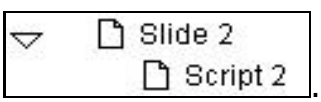
More about Acrobat Reader

Switching Window Options

The default page view of the book set a display of the page window with the bookmark panel. Acrobat Reader has options of window settings: 1. only the page; 2. both bookmarks and the page; 3. both thumbnails and the page. The icons of these three options are located in the toolbar at top of the Reader. If you like to read with wider page view, click the first icon for only the page. And to switch back when you browse with bookmarks click on the second icon.

Submenu of Bookmarks

Bookmarks mark chapters, pages of the book for quick access. With some bookmarks, a triangle 

appears to the left of the bookmark. That indicates that the bookmark has subordinate bookmarks. Clicking the triangle will show or hide the subordinate bookmarks 

.

Other Information on Acrobat Reader

For more extensive information on how to use Adobe Acrobat Reader, please go to the Help section in Acrobat Reader, or to their website at http://www.adobe.com/. The adobe website also has information on system requirements for installing Adobe Acrobat Reader on PC and Macintosh computers.

Searching a Specific Word or Text Passage

Even though Acrobat Reader provides the Search function, unfortunately PDF files of the book are not searchable because, as explained above, Acrobat does not support the extended character set required by several chapters on this CD. However, the MS Word files of the book included in BM26_Word folder can be searched.

First, open a chapter with Microsoft Word, then select Edit pull-down menu and choose Find .. (or simply press Ctrl+F). In the Find dialog box, type a word or line of words you like to search in the Find What: input box and click Find button.

Printing the Pages of the Book

You can print any page of the book either with PDF or MS Word format. PDF printing provides the quality and page setup very much close to the original paper book version. To print by either format, select Print in File menu.

Viewing Digital Slides

PDS 2 slides can be shown both in the Slide Viewer (programmed by the producer of this CD) and Acrobat Reader with different styles. The Slide Viewer presents a regular slide show with easy tools to navigate the slides, such as forward, backward, quick jump to any slide and pop-up script window of slide descriptions. The PDF slides are basically provided for lookup when reading the pages of the book. But they are also meant for Macintosh users who wish to view the slide atlas, since the Slide Viewer only runs on IBM/PC.

Showing Slide in Slide Viewer

To open the Slide Viewer for a slide show, click Show Slides button on the cover interface of the book. After the viewer is activated, use the following buttons and tools:

and click to go backward and forward

click the triangle of the popup menu for selecting a slide number to jump to

click the button with page icon to show the script window of slide descriptions.

when the script window pop out, the Script button turns to the Hide button. Click it to hide the script.

Navigating Slides in PDF Reader

Viewing in Reader Window

Slides of PDF format are linked from pages of the book and can be quickly looked up. However, the slides also can be viewed as slide show in the Reader Window one by one, and can be zoomed in or out as needed. The script of a slide description is marked as a subordinate bookmark under each slide bookmark. First, click on the triangle left to the slide bookmark, while the script bookmark will show below it right away. Then click on the script bookmark to bring up the slide description page. To come back to the slide that you view, click on the title of the description of the slide, which is framed with red dashed lines.

Viewing in Full Screen

To view the slides as a full screen slide show, either press combined keys Ctrl + Shift + L or click

in Bookmark pane. The Reader will hide the menu, toolbar and bookmark of the Reader and display the slides over black background. Use the arrow keys to navigate forward and back. But the scripts are not offered when viewing in full screen.

Returning to Reader Window

To return to Reader Window from full screen, press either combined keys Ctrl + Shift + L or hit the Esc key.

Accessing File Folders

To access files in the CD, click on Directory of Files button on the cover interface of the book. After the directory window pops out on the screen, double click on any folder icon to open the folder directory in which you would access files.